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Virginia Historical Society
Richmond

WM. ELLIS JONES,
PRINTER,
RICHMOND, VA.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

Virginia Historical Society.

New Series.

VOL XI.

Virginia Historical Society
Richmond

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Virginia Historical Society

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING

HELD

DECEMBER 21–22, 1891,

WITH

HISTORICAL PAPERS

READ ON THE OCCASION,

AND OTHERS,

EDITED BY

R. A. BROCK,
Corresponding Secretary and Librarian of the Society.



RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
MDCCCXCII.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Virginia Historical Society

AT ITS

ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN THE

House of Delegates, December 21–22, 1891,

WITH THE

CONSTITUTION AND LIST OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY.

RICHMOND, VA.:
1892.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Virginia Historical Society

IN

Annual Meeting held December 21–22, 1891.

With the hope of enlisting a more general interest in the Virginia Historical Society and its objects, and to extend its usefulness, the Executive Committee in meeting held July 11, 1891, adopted a plan submitted for an annual meeting of the Society, and appointed Messrs. Lyon G. Tyler and R. A. Brock a committee to carry the same into effect.

Their efforts met with highly gratifying success.

As duly announced, a meeting of the Society was held in the Hall of the House of Delegates on the evenings of December 21 and 22, 1891, commencing at 8 o'clock. There was an excellent and intelligent attendance, composed, in part, of members of the State Legislature.

The President, Mr. Henry, called the meeting to order, and having stated the needy condition of the Society, expressed the hope that the meeting would not be without desired and deserved fruits.

The following interesting papers were read during the session:

MONDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 21,

Early Revolutionary History of Virginia, 1773–'74, and the Call for the First Congress, by Professor James Mercer Garnett, A. M., LL.D., University of Virginia; Historical Elements in Virginia Education and Literary Effort, by Professor John B. Henneman, A. M., Ph. D., Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia; Notes on Recent Work in Southern History, by Professor William P. Trent, M. A., University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee; Ancient Epitaphs in York and James City Counties, Virginia, by Professor J. L. Hall, William and Mary College, Virginia.

Virginia Historical Society

Tuesday Evening, December 22,

The First Election of Washington to the House of Burgesses, by Mr. R. T. Barton, Winchester, Virginia; The Old Brick Church, Smithfield, Virginia, built in 1632, by R. S. Thomas, A. M., LL.B., Smithfield, Virginia; Richmond's First Academy, projected by M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire in 1786, by Mr. Richard Heyward Gaines, Richmond, Virginia; Agriculture in Virginia during the First Twenty Years of the Colony,[1] by Philip A. Bruce, Richmond, Virginia; Some Unpublished Facts relating to Bacon's Rebellion in Accomac County, Virginia, by Mr. F. P. Brent, Virginia; Thomas Hansford, the First Native Martyr to American Liberty, by Mrs. Annie Tucker Tyler.

Upon the conclusion of the reading of the papers on the second evening, on motion of Dr. W. P. Palmer it was—

Resolved, That the thanks of the Virginia Historical Society are hereby tendered to the several gentlemen and to Mrs. Annie Tucker Tyler, who have read valuable and interesting papers before them, at their annual meeting held in the Hall of the House of Delegates, December 21 and 22, 1891, and it is requested that these papers be given to to the Society for publication.

Messrs. Barton, Garnett and Thomas were appointed a committee to nominate officers of the Society for the year 1892.

The nominations as submitted were duly elected, and their names are given on a succeeding page.

On motion of Mr. Tyler it was—

Resolved, That the Society approve the bill now pending in the Legislature for the appropriation of five thousand dollars for copying the county court records of the State prior to the year 1700.[2]

---

[1] A copy of this paper was not furnished the Society.

[2] The Legislature, to their credit be it entered, did make the appropriation asked for, inadequate as it is known to be. Auspiciously, the Secretary of the Commonwealth has caused this work, essential to the preservation of the muniments of Virginia, to be entered on. Let not the "Mother of States and Statesmen" continue to linger in the provision for the preservation of her archives.

Professor Garnett made an earnest appeal in behalf of the Society, urging that it was not only the duty of the State to provide means for the just maintainance of an honoring exponent, but that it was a crying shame that the support of its citizens was not greater.[3]

The President then expressed his thanks to the audience for the interest exhibited, and announced the meeting as adjourned.

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[3] It may be hoped that the Society will soon enter upon a brighter life and a more satisfactory execution of its important mission. The desideratum so long urged—a habitation of its own—has been assured. At a meeting of the Executive Committee held May 26, 1892, the munificent offer of Mrs. John Stewart, of "Brook Hill," Henrico county, Virginia, and her daughters, to convey to the Society for its occupancy for ten years, and longer if desired at the expiration of the period, the commodious building in Richmond which was the residence during the late war of the family of General R. E. Lee, was gratefully accepted.

The Society, however, is without funds, and is dependent solely upon the subscriptions of its members for the means to defray its current necessary expenses. To meet the expenses of removal, furniture and the care of the building, the membership of the Society must be greatly increased, or the absolute need met by the generosity of the public spirited of our people.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[Adopted March 10, 1870]

ARTICLE I.

The objects of the Society shall be the collection and preservation of everything relating to the history, antiquities and literature of the State of Virginia particularly, and the United States in general.

ARTICLE II.

The fiscal year shall terminate on the 31st of October, and the terms of office shall expire on the 31st of December.

ARTICLE III.

The Society shall be composed of Regular, Life, Corresponding and Honorary members.

ARTICLE IV.

The officers of the Society shall be a President, First, Second and Third Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and a Librarian, and these shall continue in office until their successors are elected, unless vacancies occur by death, resignation or removal, in which case the Executive Committee shall have power to appoint officers *ad interim*.

ARTICLE V.

The President, Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, together with twelve members, shall constitute a committee to be called the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VI.

All the officers and members of the Committee named in the preceding sections shall be elected at the annual meeting of the Society, by ballot.

ARTICLE VII.

The duties of the several officers shall be those which are usually exercised by such officers, respectively, and may be more particularly defined in the By-Laws established by the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Executive Committee shall appoint their own Chairman, and have power to fill any vacancy that may occur in their own body; to remove the Treasurer and Librarian; to ordain and establish such By-Laws as they shall deem necessary and proper; to call meetings; to elect all members of the Society, and in general, do all things which they shall deem expedient to secure the objects of the Society and promote its general welfare in all respects. They shall meet once a month, and oftener if they deem it necessary, and any six members shall constitute a quorum. They shall have power to appoint members of the Society who are not members of the Committee to serve on special committees whenever it is necessary.

ARTICLE IX.

All members of the Society shall be nominated at a regular monthly meeting of the Executive Committee, and the vote on their nominations shall be taken at the next or a succeeding regular monthly meeting of the Committee.

ARTICLE X.

Regular members shall pay an admission fee of one dollar ($1) upon receiving notice of their election, and five dollars on the first day of every subsequent year. Life members shall pay fifty dollars within thirty days after their election. If any Regular member shall fail to pay his subscription for two years, or at any time shall refuse to pay the same, he shall forfeit all his rights and privileges of membership, and the Executive Committee shall cause his name to be erased from the list of members.

ARTICLE XI.

Corresponding members may be elected from such persons as may appear to be entitled to such distinction from their connection with historical or literary pursuits, or may indicate a disposition to contribute to the collections or promote the objects of the Society.

ARTICLE XII.

Regular or Life members may be elected by a majority of the Committee present when the vote is taken. Three votes shall exclude a Corresponding or Honorary member, and not more than ten Honorary members shall be elected in any one year.

ARTICLE XIII.

The annual meetings of the Society for the election of officers and the transaction of business shall be held in the city of Richmond on the second Thursday in December of each year, at such place as the Executive Committee shall designate by advertisement, and an adjourned meeting shall be held on the evening of the same or a subsequent day, to which the public shall be invited, when there shall be a suitable address or discourse by some person selected by the Executive Committee to perform this duty on that occasion. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum of the Society at any meeting.

ARTICLE XIV.

At the annual business meeting of the Society the Executive Committee shall make a full report of their operations during the previous year, and so much of this report as may be deemed advisable shall be presented at the public meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE XV.

This Constitution may be amended at any general meeting of the Society by the vote of the majority of members present, when such amendment shall be recommended by the Executive Committee, or if not so recommended notice thereof shall have been given at some previous meeting of the Society.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

OF THE

Virginia Historical Society,

JUNE 1, 1892.

President.

WILLIAM WIRT HENRY, Richmond, Virginia.

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ARCHER ANDERSON, Richmond, Va.

WILLIAM P. PALMER, M. D., Richmond, Va.

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

R. A. BROCK, Richmond, Va.

Recording Secretary.

GEORGE A. BARKSDALE, Richmond, Va.

Treasurer.

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ORIN L. COTTRELL, Richmond, Va.
B. W. GREEN, M. D., Richmond, Va.
E. V. VALENTINE, Richmond, Va.
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Stringfellow, Maj. C. S., Richmond, Va.
Stewart, Rev. J. Calvin, Richmond, Va.
Stryker, Gen. W. S., Trenton, N. J.
Stubbs, Prof. T. J., Williamsburg, Va.
Sturdevant, Col. R., Cape Girardeau, Mo.
Sumner, John O., Cambridge, Mass.
Swineford, H., Richmond, Va.
Taliaferro, Gen. W. B., Ware Neck, Va.
Taylor, E. D., Richmond, Va.
Taylor, U. S. N., Commander H. C., Washington, D. C.
Taylor, W. E., Norfolk, Va.
Thaxton, Geo. D., Richmond, Va.
Thom, Prof. W. T., Hollins Institute, Va.
Thomas, M. D., Creed, Richmond, Va.
Thomas, R. S., Smithfield, Va.
Thompson, P. Montagu, Williamsburg, Va.
Todd, M. D., Chas. H., Owensboro, Ky.
Towles, M. D., Prof. W. B., University of Va
Trent, Prof. W. P., Sewanee, Tenn.
Tucker, Hon. J. R., Lexington.
Tulane University, New Orleans, La.
Turnure, Lawrence, New York, N. Y.
Upshur, U. S. N., Rear Admiral, John H., Washington, D. C.
Valentine, E. P., Richmond, Va.
Valentine, G. G., Richmond, Va.
Valentine, Jr., M. S., Richmond, Va.
Valentine, Sr., M. S., Richmond, Va.
Vermillion, John, Norfolk, Va.
Waddell, J. A., Staunton, Va.
Walker, J. G., Richmond, Va.
Walker, J. W., Richmond, Va.
Warren-Bey, M. D., Ed., Paris, France.
Watkins, J. E , Washington, D. C.
Waterman, Wm. H., New Bedford, Mass.
Watson, G. F., Richmond, Va.
Watts, J. Allen, Roanoke, Va.
Watts, Hon. L. R., Portsmouth, Va.
Wellford, Hon. B. R., Richmond, Va.
Wellford, C. E. Richmond, Va.
Wellford, Major P. A., Richmond, Va.
West, Capt. John M., Petersburg, Va.
Wharton, D. D., Prof., L. B., Williamsburg, Va.
Wherry, B. C., Richmond, Va.
Whittle, Rt. Rev. F. M., Richmond, Va.
Williams, Chas. U., Richmond, Va.
Willis, M. D., F. T., Richmond, Va.
Wingfield, Rt. Rev. J. H. D., Benicia, Cal.
Winsor, Justin, Cambridge, Mass.
Winston, M. D., G. S., New York, N. Y.
Wise, U. S. N., Surgeon, John C.
Wise, Peter, Alexandria, Va.
Wise, Gen. Peyton, Richmond, Va.
Wood, Thos. L., Alexandria, Va.
Wortham, Chas. E., Richmond, Va.

EARLY REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA,

1773—1774.

The Committee of Correspondence

AND

THE CALL FOR THE FIRST CONGRESS.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1891,

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EARLY REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF VIRGINIA, 1773-1774.

THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE AND THE CALL FOR THE FIRST CONGRESS.

It has been often made a reproach to Virginians that they have neglected the history of their own State and people, and I fear it is a reproach but too well deserved. They have been content to make history and to let others write it, and as a consequence much of it has been left unwritten, and the records have perished irretrievably. The investigator of any particular point in the history of Virginia is hampered by the lack of original materials, and must often take his evidence at second or third hand. This defect is, however, gradually being remedied, as far as it is now possible to remedy it. The publications of this Society during the past ten years, and the work done by its learned President, its Secretary, and the chairman of its Committee of Arrangements,[1] the publication at intervals for the past sixteen years of the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," and the recent valuable work on "The Genesis of the United States," by a member of this Society,[2] show that there is historical activity in the State, and that we are waking up to the im-

[1] W. W. Henry, R. A. Brock and L. G. Tyler.

[2] Alexander Brown.

portance of bringing the records of the past to the attention of the present generation, and of interesting the people of this day in the deeds of their ancestors. Pride of ancestry has sometimes been made an occasion for cheap witticism at the expense of Virginians by those who have never felt the force of the ennobling influence of the past, but perish the day when the son forgets his father, when the Virginia boy fails to feel an inspiration for his own life from a reflection upon the conduct of his grandsires, who were making history in the days that tried men's souls!

The object of the present paper is to notice briefly—of necessity briefly in the limited time assigned to it—some points of Virginia history in the days just preceding the Declaration of Independence—events occurring on the threshold of the Revolution, which prepared the way for that Declaration. It is a difficult matter to assign a beginning to the Revolution. Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, in his chapter on "The Revolution Impending" (chap. I, Vol. VI, of Justin Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America"), says: "The year 1763 is usually regarded as the beginning of the American Revolution, because in that year the English ministry determined to raise a revenue from the colonies." Others take as a starting-point the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, and the consequent action of the colonies. But while there is much of interest to the student of Virginia history from the passage of Patrick Henry's celebrated resolutions to the actual outbreak of war, all tending to show the jealousy felt by the House of Burgesses of the rights and liberties of the colonies, the events to be considered in this paper concern chiefly the formation and work of the *Committees of Correspondence*, the first step looking toward united action on the part of the colonies, and in this step Virginia unquestionably took the lead. It used to be said, even by Virginia writers, that Massachusetts was entitled to equal honor with Virginia in originating the Committees of Correspondence.[3]

But this statement was due to confounding two different things, the origination of local Committees of Correspondence within a

[3] See Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," third edition, 1818, note to p. 87, with which compare Tucker's "Life of Jefferson," Vol. I, pp. 52–55, and reference there given to "Marshall's Life of Washington;" also compare Randall's "Life of Jefferson," Vol. I, pp. 78–80.

colony, and the origination of Committees of Correspondence between the colonies themselves. It is not denied that Massachusetts first suggested and first put into practice the formation of Committees of Correspondence between her own towns, and this suggestion was due to the active brain of Samuel Adams. At a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston, held on November 2, 1772, Samuel Adams moved "that a Committee of Correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonists, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects, to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province and to the world as the sense of this town, with the infringement and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject."[4] Mr. Bancroft adds: "The end in view was a general confederacy against the authority of Parliament; the towns of the province were to begin, the Assembly to confirm their doings, and invite the other colonies to join." But this last sentence is Bancroft's, not Adams's. Adams says nothing about "the other colonies," but expressly says "each town," showing that the resolution was limited in its application to that colony alone. "The motion was readily adopted," and by January, 1773, eighty towns or more had chosen their committees. Mr. Bancroft says (History of United States, VI, 445): "Samuel Adams was planning how to effect a union of all the colonies in Congress. When the Assembly met [January 6, 1773] the speaker transmitted the proceedings of the town of Boston for organizing the provincial Committees of Correspondence [*i. e.* on November 2, 1772] to Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia." Here was the point of contact between Massachusetts and Virginia. The suggestion of this instrumentality was made, and it was to bear fruit in the action of the Virginia House of Burgesses, as we shall see. The importance of the action of Virginia is fully realized by Mr. Bancroft, for he says further in his chapter entitled "Virginia Consolidates Union" (VI, 454): "The people on their part drew from their institution of Committees of Correspondence throughout the province the hope of a union of all the

[4] Bancroft's History of the United States, original edition, 1854, Vol. VI, p. 429.

colonies." * * * "Whether that great idea should become a reality depended on Virginia," and after giving an account of the passage by the House of Burgesses of the resolutions of March 12, 1773, he adds (VI, 455): "Their resolves were sent to every colony, with a request that each would appoint its committee to communicate from time to time with that of Virginia. In this manner Virginia laid the foundation of our Union. Massachusetts organized a province; Virginia promoted a confederacy." Here then are the respective shares in this matter allotted to each by the Massachusetts historian himself, and Virginia has no cause to complain.

The action of Virginia is also fully recognized by Mr. Mellen Chamberlain, who says (Winsor's "History of the United States," VI, 56): "Massachusetts, which had led in most of the revolutionary movements, did not take the lead in establishing committees of correspondence between the colonies. That honor belongs to Virginia; and its chief cause was the action of the commissioners in the Gaspee case. It paved the way for the union of the colonies after the general Congress which was convened at Philadelphia the next year"; and in an editorial note on this chapter, Mr. Winsor adds (VI, 90): "The vote passed by Virginia, March 12, 1773, was the immediate cause of intercolonial activity." The position of Virginia, then, in the matter of the formation of the Committees of Correspondence seems sufficiently established, but the above account has been given as preliminary to a more careful consideration of these celebrated resolutions and their effect upon the other colonies. We are greatly aided in this investigation by the recent publication (in Vol. VIII, Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 1890) of the "Letters and Proceedings of the Committees of Correspondence and Inquiry of Virginia and the other Colonies from March 12, 1773, to May 5, 1775." The letters received by the Virginia committee are here published for the first time, as far as I am aware, but Mr. Winsor, in an editorial note as above (VI, 90) tells us that Frothingham, in his "Rise of the Republic of the United States," Boston, 1872, a work that I have not seen, "determines the time of appointing such a committee by each colony." This time is readily ascertained from the record itself.

An account of the introduction and passage of the resolutions

for the formation of Committees of Correspondence is given by Mr. Wirt in his "Life of Patrick Henry" (third edition, p. 87), and by Professor George Tucker in his "Life of Jefferson" (I, p. 51), followed by Charles Campbell in his "History of Virginia," who designates Richard Henry Lee as the author of the plan,[5] and by Randall in his "Life of Jefferson" (I, p. 78). Doubtless Lee was stimulated by the reception a few weeks before of the Massachusetts resolution, and with far-seeing eye realized what a powerful influence for united action might be exerted by the extension of these committees to the several colonies. We are told by Professor Tucker, following Jefferson's "Memoir," that Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Dabney Carr, Thomas Jefferson, and two or three others, whose names have not unfortunately come down to posterity, used to meet at the Raleigh tavern to consult on the measures proper to be pursued; that they drew up the resolutions; and Mr. Jefferson mentions in his "Memoir" that the consulting members proposed to him to move these resolutions in the House the next day, but that he declined the honor in favor of his brother-in law, Dabney Carr, a new member, to whom he wished to afford so good an opportunity to make his talents known. The resolutions were accordingly moved by Dabney Carr, a member from Louisa (not Charlotte, as Mr. Bancroft has it) on March 12, 1773, in an eloquent speech, on which Mr. Wirt comments. They were supported by Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee, and were unanimously adopted.

I regret very much that I have been unable to procure access to the Journal of the House of Burgesses of 1773 (which sat but eleven days—March 4–15), but these resolutions are printed in Burk's "History of Virginia" (III, 372-3), Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry" (third edition, pp. 87, 88), and very recently in the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers" (VIII, p. 1). They

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[5] John Esten Cooke says (*Magazine of American History* for May, 1884) that "as far back as 1768 Lee had advocated the scheme of a Committee of Correspondence." This suggestion of R. H. Lee's was made in a letter of July 25, 1768, to John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, which letter is given in Lee's "Life of R. H. Lee," and this was, I presume, Cooke's authority for his statement. See R. H. Lee's "Life of Richard Henry Lee," Vol. I, pp. 64, 65, and Campbell, p. 579.

will also be found in Mr. W. W. Henry's "Life of Patrick Henry" (I, 159). Although presumably well known to the members of this Society, they are of such importance in the early revolutionary history of Virginia that they deserve to be quoted in full. They read as follows:

"Whereas the minds of his Majesty's faithful subjects in this colony have been much disturbed by various rumors and reports of proceedings tending to deprive them of their ancient, legal, and constitutional Rights; and whereas the affairs of this Colony are frequently connected with those of Great Britain, as well as of [Wirt and the Cal. omit 'of'] the neighboring colonies, which renders a communication of Sentiments necessary; in order, therefore, to remove the uneasiness [Burk says 'uneasinesses'] and to quiet the minds of the people, as well as for the [Cal. omits 'the'] other good purposes above mentioned—

"*Be it Resolved*, That a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry be appointed, to consist of eleven persons, to-wit: the honorable Peyton Randolph, Esquire, Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson, Esquires, any six of whom to be a committee, whose business it shall be to obtain the most early and authentic intelligence of all [Burk omits 'all'] such Acts and Resolutions of the British Parliament or proceedings of administration as may relate to or affect the British Colonies in America; and to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister Colonies respecting those [Burk says 'these'] important considerations; and the result of such their proceedings from time to time to lay before this [Burk says 'the'] House.

"*Resolved*, That it be an instruction to the said committee that they do without delay inform themselves particularly of the principles and authority on which was constituted a court of enquiry, said to have been lately held in Rhode Island, with powers to transport persons accused of offences committed in America to places beyond the seas to be tried.

"*Resolved*, That the Speaker [Burk and Wirt add 'of this House'] do transmit to the Speakers of the different Assemblies of the British Colonies on this [Wirt says 'the'] Continent

copies of the said Resolutions, and desire that they will lay them before their respective Assemblies and request them to appoint some person or persons of their respective bodies to communicate from time to time with the said committee."

Mr. Wirt says (p. 89) that the mover of these resolutions, Dabney Carr, "although he had not yet reached the meridian of life, was considered by far the most formidable rival in forensic eloquence that Mr. Henry had ever yet had to encounter." Unfortunately for the colony, he died on the 16th of May following, not two months later, in the thirtieth year of his age, cut off in the beginning of his public career. Mr. Bancroft well says (VI, 455) his name "must not perish from the memory of his countrymen."

The Committee met on the next day, March 13th, all present except Edmund Pendleton and Patrick Henry; appointed John Tazewell clerk, and Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Dudley Digges a select committee, who, as is shown by the record, conducted all the correspondence of the committee. They directed the select committee to take steps to carry out the second resolution, to procure copies of certain acts of Parliament and Journals of the House of Commons (which were procured later through a certain Mr. John Norton, of London), and to transmit to the Speakers of the other Assemblies on the Continent copies of an act of the Virginia Assembly making it a felony to forge the paper currency of the other colonies, like action being desired from the other assemblies, for it seems from a subsequent letter that this Colony had "sustained the greatest injury by having their paper currency forged—the supposed principal author of this mischief being an inhabitant of North Carolina."

The second resolution requires, perhaps, a few words of explanation. Some months before, on June 10, 1772, a revenue vessel, the "Gaspee," which had been making illegal seizures of goods and much harassing the people of Providence, R. I., having run aground in a chase, was boarded and burnt by the incensed citizens. A royal commission sat at Newport from January 4th to 22d, 1773, to consider the affair, and at the end of its deliberations required the Governor of Rhode Island to arrest the offenders and send them to England for trial. He

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laid the matter before the Assembly, who referred it to the discretion of the Chief Justice, Stephen Hopkins. He boldly refused, "for the purpose of transportation for trial, either to apprehend any person by his own order or to suffer any executive officers of the colony to do it;" and thus the matter ended, as no armed force was used.[6]

This transportation of accused persons beyond seas for trial was, then, what excited the Virginia House of Burgesses, and this was not the first occasion on which like action had been taken, for on May 11, 1769, they had passed unanimously certain noted resolutions (given in Burk, III, 343-4, and in Henry, I, 138-9), one of which declared "that the seizing any person or persons residing in this colony, suspected of any crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such person or persons to places beyond the seas to be tried, is highly derogatory of the rights of British subjects, as thereby the inestimable privilege of being tried by a jury from their vicinage, as well as the liberty of summoning and producing witnesses in such trial, will be taken away from the party accused."

The result of the passage of those resolutions was the dissolution of that Assembly by Lord Botetourt. Let us now notice the effect of the resolutions just read, which had been duly transmitted to the other colonies by the Select Committee on March 19, 1773. The first letter received was from the Speaker of the General Assembly of New York, dated April 14, who states that he will lay the resolutions before the Assembly when it convenes, but he does not imagine that this will be before the latter end of this or the beginning of next year. On March 1, 1774, nearly a year later, the Speaker transmits the New York resolutions of January 20, appointing a Committee of Correspondence of thirteen, in the very words of the Virginia resolution, as is the case with the other Assemblies. He adds: "I am also directed to return their thanks to the Burgesses of the ancient colony and Dominion of Virginia for their early attention to the Rights and Liberties of America."[7]

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[6] See Bancroft, VI, 417-419 and 450, 451, and Winsor, VI, 53.

[7] See Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. VIII, pp. 15, ff., for all these letters.

The first Assembly to respond to the initiative of Virginia was that of *Rhode Island*, which appointed its committee of seven on May 7th, and the resolutions were transmitted by the Speaker on May 15th, who says: "The House, thoroughly convinced that a firm union of the colonies is absolutely necessary for the preservation of their ancient, legal and constitutional rights [the very words of the Virginia preamble], and that the measures proposed by your House of Burgesses will greatly promote so desirable an end, came *nemine contradicente* into the resolutions of which I have the honor to enclose you a copy."

The House of Representatives of *Connecticut* appointed its committee of nine on May 21st, but the resolutions were not transmitted by the Speaker until June 24th, who refers to the "Resolutions of the patriotic House of Burgesses of the Colony of Virginia," which are quoted in full in the copy of the clerk extracted from the Journals.

New Hampshire and *Massachusetts* appointed their committees on the same day, May 27th, the former consisting of seven, and the latter of fifteen persons. The Speaker of the New Hampshire House of Representatives, under date of May 27th, has their "unanimous direction to present their thanks to and assure your Hon'able House that in every constitutional plan for securing the Rights of British America and removing the present infringements thereon, our sister colonies may rely we sincerely join, having no wish for ourselves of an exclusive nature in those matters, ever looking on the whole as embarked in the same common Bottom, and so represented it in our address to Lord Dartmouth at our first meeting after his appointment for American Affairs."

The Massachusetts House, after a suitable preamble, places as its very *first* resolution—

"*Resolved*, That this House have a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under to the House of Burgesses in Virginia for the vigilance, firmness and wisdom which they have discovered at all times in support of the Rights and Liberties of the American Colonies, and do heartily concur with them in their said judicious and spirited Resolves."

This does not look as if those Massachusetts men had any idea that they had been forestalled in the inception of any plan of intercolonial correspondence that they had already conceived,

and if historians had had these resolutions before them, there would never have been any doubt as to which colony moved first in this matter. The Speaker of the Massachusetts House, under date of June 3d, says: "The wisdom of the measures proposed in those Resolves and the great and good effects that may reasonably be expected to flow from them, not only to the Colonies, but to the parent State, were so obvious that the House immediately adopted them and appointed a committee to keep up and maintain a free communication with Virginia and the rest of the Sister Colonies."

That the colonies did not, however, look upon this measure as leading to independence of Great Britain is here shown, and it is shown also by the words of the Speaker of the New Hampshire House, who says: "The House have appointed a committee for the proposed purpose of communication, and flatter ourselves that some means may yet be hit on for restoring the mutual confidence once subsisting between Great Britain and the American provinces."

It will be observed that the four New England colonies, whose Assemblies were already in session, were the first to respond to the Virginia resolutions.

The Speaker of the *Georgia* House, on June 5th, acknowledges the receipt of the Resolutions, and states that he will "take care to lay [them] before our House of Representatives." But Georgia did not appoint her committee of six until September 10th, accompanying this resolution with one of thanks to the Speaker and House of Burgesses of Virginia "for communicating their Intentions firmly to support the rights and privileges of his Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in America."

On July 8th *South Carolina* appointed a committee of nine, and also thanked the House of Burgesses of Virginia "for communicating the said Resolutions to this House, as well as for their steady attention to the general interests of America." The Speaker, in transmitting these resolutions the next day, adds, "by which your province have so nobly and uniformly distinguished itself in the great cause of liberty."

On August 10th the Select Committee of Correspondence of *Connecticut* refers to the previous letter of the Speaker, of June 24th, transmitting a copy of the Resolutions of the Connecticut House, "by which you will see the House of Representatives of

this Colony have fully adopted the measures proposed by your patriotic House of Burgesses, and with pleasure follow the lead given, an example set by the fathers of the people in the ancient, free and loyal Colony of Virginia." Here is another New England testimony to the source from which "the lead" proceeded, and to the estimation in which Virginia was held by the other colonies.

The Speaker of the *Pennsylvania* House acknowledges, on September 25th, the receipt of the resolutions sent on March 19th, and states that the Assembly considers it "highly expedient and necessary a correspondence should be maintained between the Assemblies of their several Colonies; but as the present Assembly must in a few days be dissolved by virtue of the charter of the province, and any measures they might adopt at this time rendered by dissolution ineffectual, they have earnestly recommended the subject matter of the letter and resolves of the House of Burgessess of Virginia to the consideration of the succeeding Assembly." This looks like "dodging the question," and it does not appear that "the succeeding Assembly" ever appointed a Committee of Correspondence, for the next record we have from Pennsylvania is dated May 20, 1774, and recounts the appointment, "at a Meeting of a Number of respectable Inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia," of a Committee of Correspondence of eighteen members, which committee is "instructed to apply to the Governor to call the Assembly of the Province."

This action, however, was in consequence of the receipt of intelligence of the Boston Port Bill, and not in response to the Virginia resolutions of the preceding year.

On October 15th the *Maryland* House appoints its Committee of Correspondence of eleven persons, but this action is not communicated by the Speaker until December 6th. He states, however, that he had laid the Virginia resolutions before the House in June last, and that "they then had them under consideration, but before any Resolutions were entered into an unexpected prorogation took place," and they did not meet again until October.

Under date of October 21st there is an important letter from the *Massachusetts* Committee, discussing the general situation and advocating a strenuous effort for the restoration of the rights

and liberties of the colonies. They say expressly : "We are far from desiring the connection between Great Britain and America should be broken. *Esto perpetua* is our most ardent wish, but upon the terms only of equal liberty. If we cannot establish an agreement upon these terms, let us leave it to another and wiser generation." They refer, in conclusion, to the British ministry's "allowing the East India Company, with a view to pacifying them, to ship their Teas to America," and urge that "each Colony should take effectual methods to prevent this measure from having its desired effect."

Delaware appoints its committee of five on October 25th, and includes in the resolutions one reading as follows :

"*Resolved*, That this House have a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under to the House of Burgesses in Virginia for the vigilance, firmness and wisdom which they have discovered at all times in support of the Rights and Liberties of the American Colonies, and do heartily concur with them in their said judicious and spirited Resolves."

It will be noticed that this is an exact copy of the Massachusetts resolution of thanks to Virginia, Delaware having already received the resolutions of Rhode Island and of Massachusetts.

There is a letter of November 4th from the *Connecticut* Committee also referring to the action of the ministry in permitting teas to be sent by the East India Company, and expressing "the most uneasy apprehensions for the consequences."

They conclude: "It is with the greatest satisfaction we see the seasonable and beneficial example set by your honorable and patriotic House of Burgesses already followed by almost all the Houses of Assembly on the Continent, and doubt not that it will be universal soon. The union of the Colonies is of the last importance, and we conceive a regular correspondence the most certain means to effect so salutary a design."

The Speaker of the House and the Committee of Correspondence of *Georgia* both write on November 20th, transmitting the resolutions of September 10th, already mentioned above. It is surprising to see how long a time often elapses between the passage of resolutions and their transmission by the Speaker or the Committee of Correspondence.

North Carolina appoints a committee of nine on December

8th, and the Speaker transmits the resolutions on December 26th, the first one of which deserves partial quotation.

"This House resolve—

"That the vigilance which the honorable House of Burgesses of Virginia have displayed in attending to every encroachment upon the Rights and Liberties of America, and the wisdom and vigour with which they have always opposed such encroachments are worthy the imitation and merit the gratitude of all their sister colonies, and in no instance more particularly than in the measure proposed for appointing corresponding committees in every colony by which such harmony and communication will be established among them."

Thus colony after colony extols and follows the action of Virginia.

The letter of March 1, 1774, from the Speaker of the *New York* House of Representatives, transmitting their resolutions of January 20th, which is the next one in chronological order, has been already noticed.

The *Connecticut* Committee writes on March 8th in reply to the letter of the Virginia Committee of January 6th concerning writs of assistance, which contained an elaborate argument against granting such *general* writs as were demanded by his Majesty's commissioners. This argument the Connecticut Committee pronounces "at once ingenious and conclusive." They cannot refrain from again referring to the appointment of committees of correspondence, as follows:

"We consider with pleasure the step taken by your worthy House of Burgesses in appointing a committee to keep up a regular correspondence with your sister Colonies, now adopted by nearly all on the Continent, as a basis on which the most lasting and beneficial Union may be formed and supported." They are "anxiously expecting the account how the returned Tea is received, and what measures the present session of parliament will adopt respecting that and other American concerns." A P. S. significantly adds: "A quantity of Tea arrived at Boston and met the fate of the former, the particulars of which will be with you before this."

In respect to the appointment of these committees of correspondence, the last action is that of *New Jersey*, which colony

appoints its committee of nine on February 8, 1774, and "returns the thanks of the House to the Burgesses of Virginia for their early attention to the Liberties of America." These resolutions are transmitted by the committee on March 14th, so that within a year from the passage of the Virginia resolutions all the other colonies, except Pennsylvania, had appointed committees of correspondence.

These several quotations from the records of the Committee of Correspondence have been given with a view to showing the effect produced on the different colonies by the action of Virginia, which resulted in the establishment of an official means of communication between the colonies, and led to the meeting of the first Congress, concerning which Mr. Jefferson says in his "Memoir" (Randall's Life, p. 78), in giving an account of the appointment of the Virginia Committee: "We were all sensible * * * that their first measure would probably be to propose a meeting of deputies from every colony at some central place, who should be charged with the initiation of the measures which should be taken by all." This was to come, though not quite so soon as Mr. Jefferson conceived.

We have a glimpse of the effect produced in England by the action of the Virginia House of Burgesses in a MS. letter of William Lee to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, dated London, January 1, 1774, which is briefly referred to by Charles Campbell (History of Virginia, p. 570). This letter is among the Lee papers in the Library of the University of Virginia, and while chiefly on private business, it alludes to "politics" near the close, and contains the following sentence from which Mr. Campbell's extract is taken: "Every real patriot in this country admires the spirit that has already appeared among you, and the last resolves of the Virginia Assembly have struck a greater panic into the ministers than anything that has passed since the Stamp Act." Here is testimony from England to the importance of this Virginia move, for it was felt that the colonies would now unite in defence of their rights and liberties.

I regret that lack of time will not permit me to consider in detail the measures leading to *the first Congress* of all the colonies, but they must be briefly noticed. The throwing overboard of the tea in Boston harbor on December 16, 1773, led to the Bos-

ton Port Bill of March 31, 1774, which was to take effect on June 1st. Information of this was received early in May, and caused a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston on May 13th, which recommended to the other colonies a non-importation and non-exportation agreement "till the Act for blocking up the harbour be repealed." This resolution was transmitted the same day by Samuel Adams to Peyton Randolph for Virginia, and a copy was sent also to each of the other colonies. In the letter of Samuel Adams there is no allusion to a Congress. Resolutions of sympathy with Boston were passed by the inhabitants of Philadelphia on May 20th, and a Committee of Correspondence was appointed for that city. The next day (21st) this Philadelphia committee sent a letter to Boston, and a copy of it to each of the other colonies, in which the following sentence occurs:

"By what means this truly desirable circumstance of a reconciliation and future harmony with our mother country on Constitutional principles may be obtained is indeed a weighty question, whether by the method you have suggested of a non-importation and a non-exportation agreement, or by a General Congress of Deputies from the different Colonies to state what we conceive to be our Rights, and make a claim or petition of them to his Majesty in firm but decent and dutiful terms, so as that we may know by what line to conduct ourselves in future, are now the great points to be determined," and they favor the latter method, *i. e.*, a Congress, first.[8]

Whence came this suggestion of a Congress? Mr. Bancroft says that the committee of the "Sons of Liberty" of New York "proposed—and they were the first to propose—'a general Congress,'" but he does not give their letter. His statement is (History of the United States, Vol. VII, pp. 40, 41): "Their summons to the country had already gone forth when, on the evening of the 16th of May, they convoked the inhabitants of their city." The Philadelphia letter of the 21st of May, states that they had read at their meeting of the 20th "a letter from the committee of correspondence of New York." Doubtless this contained the proposition mentioned by Mr. Bancroft, for he states further (VII, 43) that "the letter from the New York

[8] See Calendar of Virginia State Papers, Vol. VIII, p. 48.

Sons of Liberty had been received in Philadelphia" before this meeting. There is among the Lee papers in the Library of the University of Virginia a copy of a letter from the New York committee of correspondence to the Boston committee, dated May 23, 1774, marked "For Virginia," and signed "By order of the Committee of Correspondence. The foregoing is a true copy. Isaac Sears,"—in which letter occurs the following sentence: "Upon these reasons we conclude that a Congress of Deputies from the Colonies in general is of the utmost moment; that it ought to be assembled without Delay and some unanimous Resolutions formed in this fatal Emergency, not only respecting *your* deplorable circumstances, but for the security of our common Rights." This shows that the idea of a Congress had already occurred to the New York Committee. There is no copy of this letter in the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers," and it is reasonable to suppose that this very letter among the Lee papers should have been on the files of the Virginia committee.

Meantime, what was going on in Virginia? The Assembly met on May 5, 1774. On the 6th the Committee of Correspondence ordered the letters which had been received from the different colonies "to be laid before the House of Burgesses now sitting," and on the 25th it took similar action with respect to the letter from the New Jersey committee, the last one received. But news had now been received of the Boston Port Bill, and on the 24th the Assembly passed its noted preamble and resolution (given in full in Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," p. 95, and also in Henry's "Life of Patrick Henry," I, 177) appointing June 1st as "a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer," in consequence of which action the Assembly was dissolved by Lord Dunmore, "on the following day," say Wirt and Campbell, but Burk gives on the margin the date as May 27th,[9] although this must apply to the association formed next day. Burk says (III, 378): "On the following day the members met by agreement at the long room in the Raleigh tavern" (Wirt, followed by Campbell, says "immediately"), entered into their agreement against the use of tea, and recommended to the Committee of Correspondence (380) "that they communicate with their several correspond-

[9] Professor M. C. Tyler and Mr. Henry give the date more exactly as May 26th (Tyler's "Life of Patrick Henry," p. 86; Henry's "Life of Patrick Henry," I, 178).

ing committees on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, to meet in general congress at such place annually as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require." Mr. Wirt quotes in full this "Association, signed by eighty-nine members of the late House of Burgesses" (as also does Mr. Henry, I, 179-181), and appends the date, May 27, 1774. The record of the Committee of Correspondence shows that it met on the following day, *Saturday, May 28th*, all present except Patrick Henry and Archibald Cary, and "Ordered that letters be prepared to the several Committees of Correspondence on the Continent, requesting their sentiments on the appointment of Deputies from the several Colonies to meet annually in general Congress." Such a letter was immediately prepared for Maryland, and a copy for each of the other colonies, and it was ordered "that said letters be sent by this day's post." This shows that the committee was not slow to fulfill the recommendation of the late House of Burgesses, but it also appears that Virginia was *not the first*, as is stated by Campbell (p. 573), to propose a general Congress, for the suggestion occurs in the letters of both the New York and Philadelphia Committees, although the Virginia House of Burgesses was ignorant of this suggestion when it made the proposition. While this suggestion was made by the New York and Philadelphia *Committees of Correspondence*, in Virginia it was made by *an organized legislative body*, presided over by the Speaker, though it had just been dissolved by the Governor.

But Virginia went a step further. On the next day, *Sunday, May 29th*, a letter was received from Maryland, of the 25th, enclosing the Philadelphia letter of the 21st and the Boston letter of the 13th, whereupon, in the words of the Virginia committee's letter of the 31st to North Carolina, the Moderator "immediately convened as many members of our late House of Burgesses as could be got together upon so short a notice, and we yesterday took this important business under our most serious consideration; the result of our deliberations will best appear from the inclosed, which is submitted to your Judgment." (Cal. VIII, 11).

What was "the inclosed" here referred to? The original paper and signatures may be seen framed occupying a conspicu-

ous position in the Virginia State Library, and a copy of it will be found on p. 52, Vol. VIII of the "Calendar of Virginia State Papers." It is the action taken on Monday, May 30, 1774, "At a meeting of twenty-five of the late Representatives legally assembled by the moderator," at which "it was agreed that letters be wrote to all our sister Colonies," acknowledging the receipt of the letters above-mentioned, informing them of the unexpected dissolution of the Virginia Assembly, and stating that it was their opinion "that the colony of Virginia will concur with the other Colonies in such measures as shall be judged most effectual for the preservation of the common Rights and Liberty of British America;" "that an association against Importations will probably be entered into as soon as the late Representatives can be collected, and perhaps against Exportations also after a certain time;" and "that we are sending Dispatches to call together the late Representatives to meet at Williamsburg on the 1st day [of] August next, to conclude finally on these important Questions." This last sentence was the most important part of this paper. Governor Dunmore, on June 17th, summoned the Assembly to meet on August 11th (Cooke's "Virginia," p. 420), but these twenty-five members of the late House of Burgesses anticipated him, and here was the summons for that *first Virginia Convention*, which met on August 1, 1774, appointed delegates to the General Congress, with full instructions for their action (see Wirt, pp. 101–105, and Henry, I, pp. 198–202), adopted a non importation agreement after November 1st next, and a non-exportation one also after August 10, 1775, "unless American grievances are redressed" before that time, and empowered the moderator to convene the delegates "on any future occasion that might, in his opinion, require it." It was thus the prelude to the Virginia Conventions of March, July and December, 1775, and May, 1776, which last severed all connection with Great Britain and adopted an independent government for Virginia—the first permanent written constitution ever adopted on this Continent.[10] Among these twenty-five names we find those of Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, Edmund Pendle-

[10] Of this Convention of 1774 Mr. Randall says (Life of Jefferson, I, 58): "This Convention was the first assembly of popular representatives of Virginia—twenty-four—which convened without the express authority of law, and by virtue of the inherent rights of the people."

ton, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Paul Carrington and James Mercer—all of whom later occupied high official positions. Three of these men—Edmund Pendleton, Paul Carrington and James Mercer—were appointed by the Convention of July, 1775, on the Committee of Safety of eleven members, that governed Virginia during the recess of the conventions from that time until July, 1776, when Patrick Henry was inaugurated as the first Governor, and all three of them were afterwards judges of the Court of Appeals of the State.[11]

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[11] As showing the relations existing between these three men, it may be mentioned that Edmund Pendleton was nominated for President of the Convention of December, 1775, by Paul Carrington, and the motion was seconded by James Mercer (Journal of the Conventions of 1775 and 1776, p. 59). Edmund Pendleton was also nominated by Paul Carrington for President of the Convention of 1788. The late Hugh Blair Grigsby, in his "Virginia Convention of 1788," says of Judge Pendleton (I, 66): "Not a few of the members could recall him as with a buoyant and graceful step he walked from the floor of the Convention of December, 1775, and of May, 1776, to the chair, escorted in the former body by Paul Carrington and James Mercer, and in the latter by the venerable Richard Bland and the inflexible Archibald Cary."

Sketches of Judge Pendleton and Judge Carrington will be found in Grigsby's work above-mentioned, and in his "Virginia Convention of 1776." A brief sketch of Judge Mercer may be appended here, as no notice of his life has ever appeared in print except a few lines prefixed to Vol. IV (p. xx) of Call's Reports, which contains brief sketches of the judges of the Court of Appeals.

James Mercer was the son of John Mercer, of Marlboro', Stafford county, Va., a lawyer and author of Mercer's "Abridgment of the Laws of Virginia," and Catherine Mason, daughter of Colonel George Mason, of Stafford county, Va., and aunt of George Mason, noted as the author of the Virginia Constitution of 1776, and otherwise. James Mercer was born February 16, 1736, and was educated at William and Mary College.

He was a captain in the French and Indian War, and in command of Fort Loudoun at Winchester in 1756. He represented Hampshire county in the House of Burgesses in 1765, and was frequently a member of that body. He also represented that county in the Virginia Conventions of 1774, 1775 and 1776. He was elected by the Convention of July, 1775, a member of the Committee of Safety of eleven that governed Virginia as the chief executive authority during the recess of the Conventions until July, 1776, when Patrick Henry was

The Committee of Correspondence on the next day, May 31st, enclosed this action of the twenty-five members of the late House of Burgesses to North Carolina, with a request for transmission to South Carolina and Georgia, and also to Maryland, with a similar request for transmission to Philadelphia and Boston—for in this way the torch was borne from hand to hand in the several colonies.

The letter of Maryland contains the following sentence : "We could wish to have known the sentiments of New York. We found a letter from the Committee of Correspondence in that province mentioned in the Philadelphia letter, but no copy of it inclosed nor the purport of it mentioned." This, too, shows that the Virginia Committee was still ignorant that the New York Committee had proposed a general Congress, the letter containing that proposition not having been received.

This notice of the records of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence must now close, just on the eve of that day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, appointed by the House of Burgesses, Wednesday, June 1, 1774, on which day George Mason directed that his elder children should attend church in mourn-

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inaugurated as the first Governor under the Constitution. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1779–'80, and in 1779 was chosen a judge of the General Court. In 1789 he was made a judge of the Court of Appeals of five judges. He died in Richmond while attending the Court of Appeals, October 31, 1793, and was buried in the churchyard of St. John's Church, but the exact spot was not marked and is now unknown. His residence was in Fredericksburg, Va., and he was president of the Board of Trustees of the Fredericksburg Academy. A letter from him to Richard Henry Lee, who was also a member of this Board, relating to the Academy, is still preserved among the Lee papers in the Library of the University of Virginia. He married Mary Eleanor Dick, daughter of Charles Dick, of Fredericksburg, and was the father of Charles Fenton Mercer, who represented the Loudoun district in Congress from 1817 to 1840. His only daughter, Mary Eleanor Dick Mercer, married her cousin, James Mercer Garnett, of Elmwood, Essex county, Virginia, M. C., 1805 to 1809. Portraits of James Mercer and of his father, John Mercer, are still preserved at Elmwood.

Judge Mercer drew the will of Mary Washington, still preserved in the records of the corporation court of Fredericksburg, and was one of the witnesses to her signature.

ing, a strong evidence of the deep feeling throughout the colony.[12] I cannot refrain, however, from quoting, in conclusion, a few brief sentences from a letter of the Philadelphia committee (without date, but dated by the editor of volume VIII of the Calendar of Virginia State Papers "June 13, 1774"), as it shows plainly the esteem in which Virginia was held: "All America," says the secretary of the committee, "look up to Virginia to take the lead on the present occasion. Our united efforts are now necessary to ward off the impending blow levelled at our lives, liberty and property." * * * "Some colony must step forth and appoint the time and place [*i. e.*, for the Congress]. None is so fit as Virginia. You are ancient. You are respected. You are animated in the cause."

It is a source of pride to the sons of Virginia to know that she did not fail to respond to this call, and to know further that she has never failed to respond in a becoming manner when her rights and liberties were threatened.

JAMES MERCER GARNETT.

University of Virginia.

[12] Mason's letter to Martin Cockburn, quoted in Bishop Meade's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia," I, 174, and elsewhere.

Historic Elements

IN

Virginia Education and Literary Effort.

A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society
Monday, December 21st, 1891,

BY

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Historic Elements

IN

Virginia Education and Literary Effort.

The key to Virginia's intellectual past, and consequently to her after development, lies in large measure in what science teaches is true of individuals—and, as we might infer, also of a collection of individuals, like the State—namely, the principles of heredity and environment. What is the origin of Virginia's people? What are the sources of her various race-elements? and how has the further history of these elements been affected and modified by climatic conditions, by geographical divisions, by the physical contour of the land, by peculiarities of soil, nay, further, by traditions and customs and habits, that manifestation of a man's self and a nation's existence from which neither ever seems to break completely away.

Cast a glance upon the map of Virginia and note the divisions of to-day, politically, materially, and industrially, varied and diverse. Five divisions will indicate roughly these differences: First, the Tide-Water, including the parts contiguous to the navigable streams; second, the Southside; third, the Valley; fourth, the Southwest; and fifth (I shall add for our present purposes), West Virginia. These geographical divisions, apparently made for convenience, in reality affect deeply the inner history of the State, and were originally the settling places of peoples, however commingled later, of different origins, governed

by different principles, and affected by different interests. Four race-elements are important enough in the history of Virginia's culture to bear distinction: the English, the Scotch-Irish, the German, and the French Huguenot. The African negro would constitute a fifth.

The first settlers were the English. Coming over at the instigation of the Virginia Company in London,[1] their objects were very similar to the later East Indian and Southern and Central African companies: to found a colony, to establish plantations, to engage in trade with the natives, to extract from a fresh soil its mineral and agricultural wealth, to amass fortunes, and possibly to achieve fame.

It needs little discernment and slight study of the map of the New World to note how admirably just this part of the entire American coast was adapted to their purposes. Stretched before them lay the beautiful waters of the Chesapeake. Into this flows fairly parallel the great river of the Potomac; the Rappahannock; the York, with its confluents; the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey; the James and its tributaries, the Chickahominy and the Appomattox, all forming fertile and pleasing peninsulas and presenting a perfect tracery and net-work of navigable waters, great highways for commerce and communication. The Bay itself and the Ocean create still another great peninsula, that of the "Eastern Shore." From these sections these pioneers spread slowly to the north and west and south, following, in the main, the courses of the larger streams.

It is a most striking illustration how the topography and physical features of a land determine its history, its social, political, and particularly its economical and intellectual development. Sufficient labor was naturally difficult to obtain, and the demand grew still greater as the tobacco crop became the staple of produce and the plantations encroached on the forest domain. Economical conditions create history; and a dozen years after the colony had been planted, the first ship-load of African slaves was introduced.[2] The social scale was lengthened at both ends. Plantations became more princely, as hundreds of servants were

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[1] Edward D. Neill: The Virginia Company in London.

[2] Minor's Institutes, Vol. I.

added as laborers and domestics. The English manorial estate, controlling the surrounding acres, leading in the vestry meeting of the neighboring church, was the model upon which the Virginian's life and government were patterned.[3] Physical geography produced also here its effects. The scattered homes and estates, extending irregularly along the courses of rivers, necessitated the division into counties of irregular shape and unequal extent; and these counties were accepted as the unit of society and the basis of representation in the government.[4] The contrast with New England already accentuated by certain differences in people, in attitude, in thought, was here complete. The colonists in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for reasons both natural and social, dwelt in compact communities, living close together and knit by common interests. These had naturally recourse to the township or ward as the central point in their democratic system, and a county composed a number of these smaller divisions. It is unprofitable to dicuss the advantages of the one form of government as compared with the other, to praise one as containing germs of liberty, which the other does not possess.[5] Nature and climate and mode of life imposed the one upon New England and the other upon Virginia. In both colonies we find local self-government and individual liberty alike dear and near to an English-speaking people.

True Englishmen these Virginians remain; there is still manifest throughout, the Englishman's love of out-door pleasure, of an open-air existence, of a life filled with excitement and adventure. Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his History of American Literature,[6] asserts: "These constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and bye and bye, here and there, perhaps, after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class and almost no literature." These were, at least, the conditions which produced "militia heroes" like Washington and Lee; "fiery orators"

[3] Woodrow Wilson: The State.
[4] John Fiske: Civil Government in the United States.
[5] Henry Adams: Life of John Randolph.
[6] Vol. I, p. 92.

like Patrick Henry and Randolph, of Roanoke; "astute and imperious politicians" like Jefferson and Madison; "country gentlemen" like Wythe and Mason and John Marshall.

The second race element, entering into the make-up of Virginia's culture, is the Scotch-Irish. One hundred and thirty years after the tide-water was settled, the valley received this stream of immigration.[7] The situation of the original home of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia was typical of the spreading of the race itself to the four quarters. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions—some northward with the Shenandoah to empty into the Potomac; others eastward into the James or more southerly into the Roanoke; others southerly and westward into the Holston, and thus into the Tennessee; and still others into the Greenbrier and Kanawha, and thence down the Ohio. That descendants still retain that love of external scenery, inborn in their ancestry, is one of the curious problems which science attempts to explain. Whether we view the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania or Virginia, in North or South Carolina, in Tennessee or Kentucky, they have fairly well followed the Appalachian range and its offshoots and the courses of its streams, the highlands and the Piedmont section ever remaining that portion where their genius seems to flower at fullest perfection.

These people added to the character of the colony a much needed Puritan element—stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world, but in their very nature earnest, law-abiding, upright, staunch, honest patriots, filled with a love of liberty inherited from generations of Scotch covenanters.

The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism and their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple,

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[7] J. L. Peyton: History of Augusta County; J. A. Waddell: Annals of Augusta County; Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College. J. H. Bryson: The Scotch-Irish in America—seems to me to claim *too* much; the Scotch-Irish have surely done enough, without one's desiring to go beyond legitimate limits and to ascribe nearly everything to them.

thrifty and comparatively secluded lives.[8] In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the abundance of post-offices bearing German appellations testify,[9] and a study of the catalogues of the Valley and westerly institutions reveal a constantly marked increase in students whose names show them to be descended from these eighteenth century pioneers.[10] William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States and author of the first Life of Patrick Henry, Judges Conrad and Sheffey, Governor Kemper, Koiner and Speece, are among the prominent representatives of this race.

The French element in Virginia has been not so large, but marked in capacity and distinct in quality. Settling along the upper waters of the James on the border of Goochland and Powhatan, this original handful of Huguenots became distributed here and there in all sections of the State, particularly along the James and the Appomattox, the Southside receiving possibly the larger share.[11] Maury, Marye, Maupin, Michaux, Legrand, Fontaine, Flournoy, Dupuy, Dabney, are but a few among many Virginian family names from this source.

I have just alluded to the Southside and its French elements. Half-way between the tide-water and the mountains of the Blue Ridge, the southern section of Virginia received an admixture of both English and Scotch-Irish. A further commingling with the French Huguenots intensified the Presbyterian influence. Add to this the labors of Samuel Davies and other missionary evangelists, and we have the causes which gave rise to Hampden-Sidney College in Prince Edward.[12] But if any point is clear in the educational history of the State, it is the fact that her early institutions in their origin are not so much the creatures of de-

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[8] Henry Ruffner: History of Washington College—characterizes very fairly both the Scotch Irish and the German settlers.

[9] Post-Office Directory; Rand, McNally & Co.'s Railway Guide, etc.

[10] General and Annual Catalogues of Washington and Lee University, University of Virginia, Roanoke College, Hampden-Sidney College, etc.

[11] R. A. Brock: Huguenot immigration to Virginia—Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. V, New Series.

[12] W. H. Foote: Sketches of Virginia; Hugh Blair Grigsby: Centennial Oration at Hampden-Sidney College in 1876.

nomination as the result of traditions of *race* and *place*. They sprang from local needs, were supported by local patronage, and only by degrees, for especial reasons and in exceptional cases, did they become institutions for a whole land. Only three of these belong to the first half century of our national existence (1775–1825): The College of William and Mary for the Tide-Water section; Hampden-Sidney College for the Southside; and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) for the Valley.[13]

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[13] Two members of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, Mr. James P. Moss, of Texarkana, Texas, and Mr. Cochran Preston, of Smyth county, Virginia, have been good enough to investigate this point, Mr. Moss taking the General Catalogue of William and Mary of 1874, and Mr. Preston that of Washington and Lee University, published in 1888. It had been my hope and intention of having the past of Hampden-Sidney College treated in like manner, but the General Catalogue has not yet appeared, and complete material was therefore not accessible. The work of these gentlemen has been very painstaking, and I trust that the results may prove valuable as statistics. These have been tabulated for each year and each county and State on charts preserved in the Hampden-Sidney College Library, and from these I have easily made the following tables. The period before the late war is separated into three divisions: First, the eighteenth century and then two others, the dividing point being 1825, the date of the opening of the University of Virginia. The table for William and Mary has been brought down only through 1861, owing to the peculiar sufferings of that institution for many years, induced through the war. The post-bellum period for Washington and Lee has been, for convenience, cut into two, the first being the decade from 1865 to 1875, displaying the influences due to General Lee's presidency, markedly increased accessions from the Southwestern States being the most striking. Many other interesting facts will be readily seen by a comparison of the two tables, which conclusions I must leave to the interested reader to draw, the lack of space forbidding a longer digression. To assist this comparison in some small measure, I have appended to the William and Mary table corresponding figures for Washington College for the same county and the similar period. The central counties have naturally sent both east and west, and the increase in the figures of Henrico, Norfolk, and Dinwiddie counties in the history of William and Mary, shows the expansion of urban at the expense of rural population.

[To avoid a too great division of the text and to present the table more clearly, it is printed as an appendix.—Ed.]

The college of William and Mary was the offspring of the genius of the English race in northern and eastern Virginia. The objects asserted were "to the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." There is about this the true and unmistakable English ring.[14]

It was a college for both church and state, because church and state were then one. In the chapel could assemble, with equal propriety, a band of college youth, a convention of the church, a body of legislators. But the influences were still stronger. Williamsburg was not only the educational and the religious centre of the English colony, it was the seat of the colonial governors, men who, imitating the state and ceremony of the court of St. James, introduced style, fashion, luxury, social grace—in short, a world's culture. Here were the sessions of the House of Burgesses, comprising the most prominent and active men in the colony; here were the law courts, and later the seat of the chancellor and the school for law. No wonder these young Virginians became natural leaders. They received their training, besides, in their homes, among domestics, in the fields, on the plantations, in church matters as vestrymen, as justices in the county courts, and, finally, in the capital at Williamsburg as members of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council. Perhaps such an atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of preachers, if that had been the hope of the founders of William and Mary. The genius of this people lay no more in that direction than in philology and mathematics, or even in literature, though none of these branches was neglected in a way; but their genius in state-craft was consummate. They became students of politics, of government, and of the law; and it was the teachers in these departments, George Wythe, the chancellor, Judge St. George Tucker, and their successors, who inspired and captivated the youth of the time.[15] And later, toward

[14] H. B. Adams: The College of William and Mary; also, The History of the College of William and Mary.

[15] George Wythe was professor of law from 1779; St. George Tucker, his suceessor, from 1800 to 1804.

the middle of the century, when abolition and territorial sovereignty and states' rights were the great issues involved, President Thomas R. Dew and Professor Beverley Tucker were still upholding the genius of the race and the institution among youth nurtured in the same traditions.[16]

[16] Thomas R. Dew is represented in the General Catalogue as having taken A. B. in the session of 1820–'21, and A. M. in that of 1824–'25. Shortly afterwards he became Professor of Political Economy, History and Metaphysics, and in 1836 succeeded to the Presidency, which he held until his death, ten years later. Judge Beverley Tucker was Professor of Law from 1833 to 1851. These seem to have been golden days for William and Mary—the decade under Dew's presidency (1836 to 1846) showing five hundred and fifty-five names in the General Catalogue against two hundred and ninety in the preceding, and three hundred and twenty-two in the following ten years. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, the truest exponent of the literary culture of Virginia for the thirty years of its existence, gives full testimony to the activity and influence of both of these gentlemen. I cite from its pages:

March, 1836. An Address: or the Influence of the Federative Republican System of Government upon Literature and the Development of Character—prepared to be delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Virginia at its annual meeting in 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in the College of William and Mary. Published by request of the Society, March 20, 1836.

October, 1836. An Address delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, at the opening of the College on Monday, October 10, 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor, &c. Published by request of the Students. [The occasion was Professor Dew's accession to the Presidency.]

February, 1837. A review of the above address.

July, 1837. Baccalaureate Address delivered to the Graduates of William and Mary College, July 4, 1837, by Thomas R. Dew, President.

November, 1846. Notice of the death of President Dew, which gives the following list of his works: A Treatise in Defence of Free Trade; Defence of Slavery; Notes on Ancient and Modern History, designed as a text-book for class, and including Review of the Causes and Effects of the French Revolution; The Characteristics of Women--a series of articles which appeared in the earlier numbers of the *Messenger*. [After his death, was published in 1851: A Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations.]

January, 1837. Extended reviews of Beverley Tucker's two novels, "George Balcombe" and "The Partisan Leader." [The review of

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Mr. Jefferson had to send abroad for Professors in Latin and Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages, in furnishing his

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the former of these two "anonymous" novels ends thus: "George Balcombe thinks, speaks and acts as no person, we are convinced, but Judge Beverley Tucker ever precisely thought, spoke or acted before;" while that of the second lets fall no word nor hint as to the probable hand that had traced it. In this number fifty-four and a half pages are devoted to criticisms and reviews, and forty to the *literary* contents !]

April, 1837. A Lecture on Government by Professor Beverley Tucker, delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, March 6, 1837.

December, 1838. A Discourse on the Genius of the Federative System of the United States, prepared to be delivered by Professor Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary, read before the Young Men's Society, of Lynchburg, Va., August 26, 1838.

August, 1839. Political Science: A Discourse on the questions, What is subject of Sovereignty in the United States, and what the relation of the People of these States to the Federal and State Governments respectively, read before the Petersburg Lyceum, May 15, 1839, by Judge Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary.

September, 1839. A Lecture: delivered to the Law Class of the College of William and Mary, June 17, 1839. This is the last of a course of lectures on the Philosophy of Government and Constitutional Law by Judge Beverley Tucker.

[In the number for January, 1842, a reference is made to the determination some years (*sic*) ago to discontinue furnishing lectures and addresses as *literary* matter, owing to the complaints of the readers, and naturally, one afterwards hears less in these columns of the two great favorites However, a depa-ture from this rule is soon noted.]

September, 1842. Temperance: An Address before the Temperance Society of the College of William and Mary by Beverley Tucker, Professor of Law.

Finally, two representative articles in the volume for 1850. The one: Observations on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle Relative to Slavery—*Apropos* of an Essay on Slavery by Thomas R. Dew, late President of the College of William and Mary, second edition, Richmond, 1849. The other: Origin and History of the High Court of Chancery, dedicated to Hon. N. Beverley Tucker—being a Review of Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England, and of Spence's Jurisdiction.

In the joint number for October and November, 1851, the Editor's Table announces the death of Beverley Tucker, at Winchester, on August 26, 1851.

State university;[17] but for Political Economy, Law, and the Science of Government he had only to reach out his hand among the graduates of William and Mary.[18]

But what growth could literature, as the expression of an *art*, enjoy in such an atmosphere?

But no less did the Scotch-Irish possess their institution. As early as 1749 those in the Valley originated Augusta Academy.[19] Those in the Southside were among the chief promoters in 1775 for the Prince Edward Academy.[20] Through the patriotic fervor engendered by the Revolution, the one became changed into Liberty Hall and the other to Hampden-Sidney College. I have referred to the personality of George Wythe and St. George Tucker and the consequent school of jurists and statesmen at Williamsburg. Here we have to deal with the personality of William Graham in Rockbridge,[21] and of the two brothers, Samuel Stanhope Smith and John Blair Smith, in Prince Edward. All three were Pennsylvanians by birth, were reared under Scotch-Irish influences, were pupils of Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, and preachers in the Presbyterian Church. The Princeton influence, ever strong in Virginia,[22] was now at its highest. Circumstances combined to make Lexington as much a centre of intellectual culture for the one people as Williamsburg for the other. The mental activities of the youth were directed not so

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[17] H. B. Adams: Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia; W. P. Trent: The Gilmer Letters.

[18] Not only were Thomas Jefferson, Joseph C. Cabell, and Chapman Johnson, all of whom were prominent in founding the new State University, old students of William and Mary, but also Francis W. Gilmer, the Commissioner to England, and Professor elect of Law; George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, 1825–'45; John Tayloe Lomax, Professor of Law, 1826–'30; John A. G. Davis, Professor of Law, 1830–'40; Henry St. George Tucker (brother to Beverley Tucker, and son of St. George Tucker), Professor of Law, 1841–'45.

[19] General Catalogue of Washington and Lee University; H. A. White: The Scotch-Irish Unversity of the South.

[20] W. H. Foote: Sketches of Virginia, first series.

[21] Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College; Hugh Blair Grigsby: The Founders of Washington College; Foote's Sketches.

[22] Princeton Catalogues.

much to law and politics—although the history of the times would not allow these anywhere to remain wholly in the background—but it was theology and metaphysics which absorbed most attention. The genius of the race—the Scotch—was again triumphant. Among Graham's pupils in Rockbridge we find Revolutionary heroes, congressmen, and judges; but it is a telling fact that more than one-fourth from among them became preachers of the Gospel.[23] It is to four of these[24]—Archibald Alexander, Moses Hoge, John Holt Rice, and George A. Baxter, imbued with the spirit and purpose instilled by the teacher—that is due the rise and greatness of the two historic seminaries of Calvinistic theology at Princeton and at Hampden-Sidney.

Much the same characteristics are fairly manifest in the history of Hampden-Sidney College. She has turned out a President of the United States, one or two Cabinet members, Congressmen, Governors, and Judges, but the genius of the institution has been far more directed towards producing an educated ministry[25] and to filling professional chairs and presidencies of edu-

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[23] Graham was Tutor from 1774 to 1776, and from 1776 to 1796 Rector or Principal. Of the one hundred and fifty-three names in the General Catalogue as having registered between 1749 and 1800, forty became ministers (thirty-seven Presbyterian, two Episcopalian, and one Independent), *i. e.*, 26 *per cent.*

[24] Archibald Alexander was afterwards President of Hampden-Sidney College (1797–1806), main instigator of the movement for a Presbyterian theological seminary, and first Professor in the same at Princeton (1812–1851); see Life of Alexander by (his son) James W. Alexander, Moses Hoge was Alexander's successor as President of Hampden-Sidney College (1807–1820), and founder of the Theological Department at the same. John Holt Rice became Tutor in Hampden-Sidney College, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, founder and Editor of the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine* (1818-'28), President-elect of Princeton College, and founder of the Union Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sidney as a distinct institution, and first Professor in the same (1824–'31). George A. Baxter was a follower of William Graham in the Presidency of Washington College (1799–1829), and was Dr. Rice's successor in Union Theological Seminary (1831–'41).

[25] Mr. Blair Dickinson, of Prince Edward county, Virginia, a member of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, has examined the catalogues of Union Theological Seminary (an institution supported by the Virginia and North Carolina synods) and has given the following

cational institutions. Noble and exalted aims! but in themselves not altogether favorable to the creation of an atmosphere charged with the electric current ready for a literary outburst.

The quarter of the century from 1825 to 1850 seems especially active in the intellectual life of the State. The older colleges become infused with new spirit. The theological seminaries at Hampden-Sidney and near Alexandria enter upon careers of distinguished usefulness. The University of Virginia opens its doors and achieves its pre-eminent position in the State and the South. There arise on all sides new institutions[26] with high educational and literary aims. Randolph-Macon, in Mecklenburg, and Emory and Henry in Washington county, are organized by the Methodists. The Baptists and the Lutherans put on foot the beginnings of Richmond and Roanoke Colleges. The State opens the Military Institute at Lexington, and one or two law and medical schools are started in different localities. Fur-

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estimates: From 1824 to 1892 there have matriculated 948 students. Of these 374 have come from the present counties in Virginia, 61 from those in West Virginia, and 184 from North Carolina, making a total of 619, and leaving 329 for other States. Hampden-Sidney College has contributed 225; Washington and Lee University (including Washington College), 139; Davidson College, North Carolina, 99; University of North Carolina, 40. Fifty-eight fall to the University of Virginia, but these, for the most part, have already been counted elsewhere. The representation of other colleges rapidly declines: King College, Tennessee, 39; Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 20; Centre College, Kentucky, 18; Southwestern Presbyterian University, Tennessee, 17; Central University, Kentucky, 14, etc., etc.

The above figures are of course exclusive of the number from these several institutions who have gone to Princeton and other seminaries.

The Virginian representation according to counties would correspond generally with the figures already given: *e. g.*, Rockbridge 56, Augusta 32, Botetourt 9, Bedford 7—total 104, representing the Scotch-Irish strongolds. Further, Montgomery 9, Pulaski 4, Smyth 4, Wythe 7, Washington 12—total 36, for the Southwest. Prince Edward 30, Charlotte 16, Cumberland 12—total 58, for the local influence. Further, Appomattox 3, Buckingham 2, Powhatan 4, Chesterfield 3, Nottoway 3, Dinwiddie 9 (including Petersburg 5), Mecklenburg 2, Halifax 4—total 30, for the remaining South-side. Finally, for the cities: Richmond 26, Norfolk and Portsmouth 9, Alexandria 6, Fredericksburg 7, Lynchburg 10, Winchester 14—total 72. The rest are very scattering.

[26] H. B. Adams: Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia.

ther, it is in this period that the *Southern Literary Messenger* is begun ; that other enterprises, lyceums, athenæums, and literary institutes, are attempted; that the VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is founded and incorporated.

If the political and constitutional ferment during and after Revolutionary times checked the expansion of literary talent and turned the genius of the people to other channels, still darker grows the prospect toward the middle of the century. The *Southern Literary Messenger* affords a most pathetic instance. In its brief life of three decades (1834–'64) it never succeeded in casting off the shadow. With distinct and apparent effort to approach nearer the ideals of a literary organ, its literary features became submerged under its uses as a reflector of political sentiment, as a defender of southern institutions and Virginian rights. Constitutional and political questions absorbed all interest, all energy ; the exigences of the time once more crushed out literature as an art and as a profession.

The influence of the colleges and seminaries could not retard this movement; indeed, but accelerated it. All participated nobly in building up the culture, the educational and intellectual life of the State—each institution, each section, each element, happy that it could preserve withal a distinctive individuality. The State University had to be largely professional—aims very distinct from literary—and specialized in philology, in mathematics, in the sciences. On the other hand, the study of government, moral and political science, and the law, ever remaining popular and attractive with Virginian youth, intensified the zest for the practical politics of the day. Taking a look backward, we see that it could hardly have been otherwise. The conditions were not those for a creative and productive era, for an universal glow and spontaneous outburst indicative of an aggressive crusade. The very preference for country life was adverse. There was hardly occasion for literary criticism, for the higher flights of poetry, for the calm observant analysis of the writer of fiction. Edgar Poe looms out conspicuously not as one born of the times, but as a lurid meteor dashing across a darkling sky—and yet in this brilliancy matching with Hawthorne and Emerson as the three original and Titanesque appearances in American authorship.

There was no centre, whether at college or in a city, no system of large collections of books and constant public discourses; little opportunity for sympathetic mind to keep in touch with kindred spirit, laboring and studying and waiting, loving literature as an art, and art for art's sake.

Intellectual energy was suppressed. It was not free to move and range at will. There could not be freedom of thought when it was ever on the defensive, on the watch for the terrible conflict which was not to be averted!

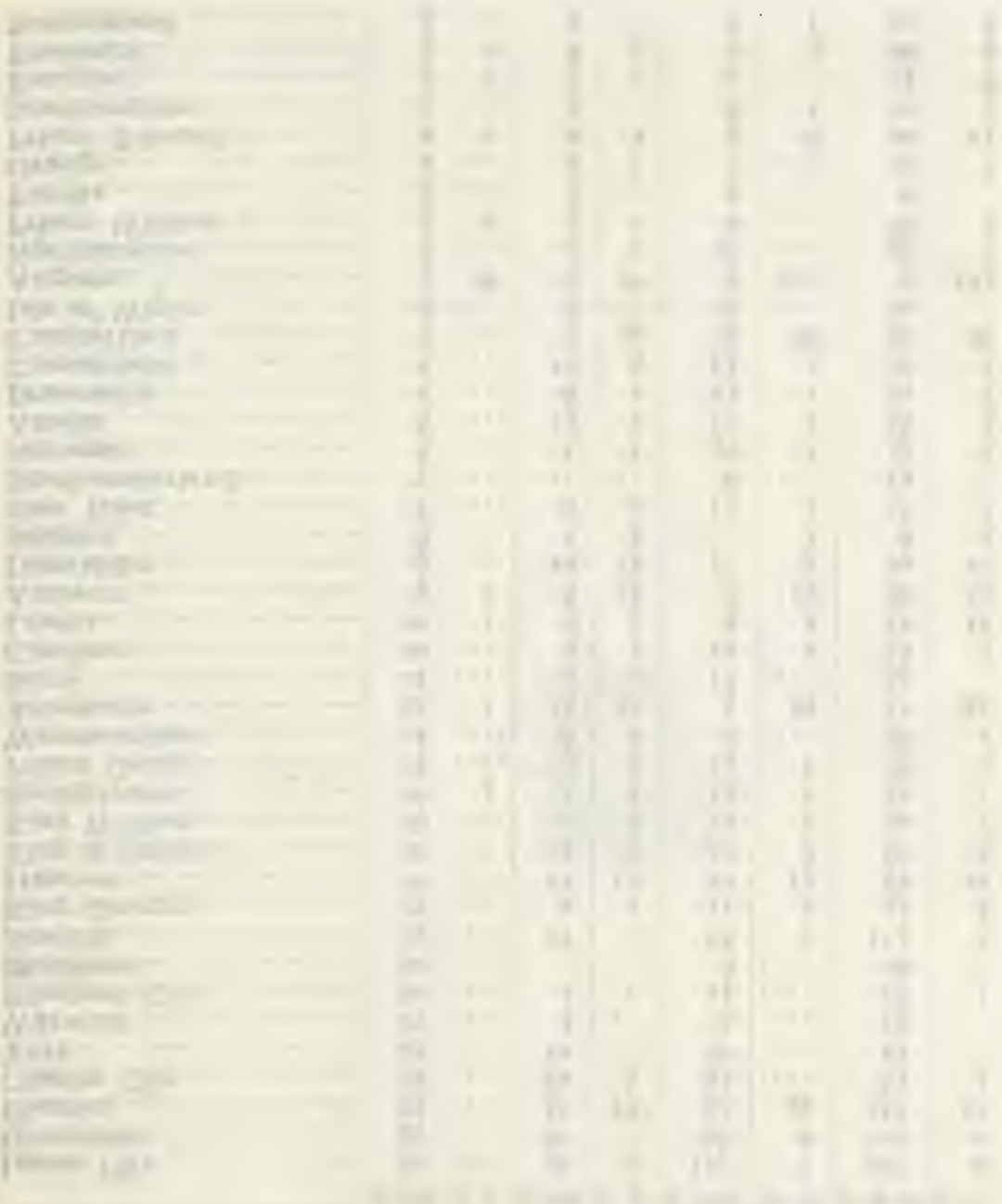
JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.

APPENDIX.

TABLE FOR THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

[See note, p. 32.]

	1700–1800.		1800–1825.		1825–1861.		Whole No.	
	W.& M.	W. C.	W.& M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.
James City	73	....	59	3	175	1	307	4
Gloucester	54	....	21	....	48	2	123	2
Henrico	33	....	31	18	93	39	157	57
Charles City	29	....	21	3	33	.....	83	3
York	27	....	10	....	20	.....	57	
Warwick	21	....	3	....	5	.....	29	
Elizabeth City	20	....	4	1	24	.....	48	1
Middlesex	20	....	.....	....	8	.....	28	
Norfolk	19	....	27	....	68	2	114	2
King George	17	....	5	4	11	1	33	5
Hanover	16	....	14	11	22	13	52	24
King & Queen	16	1	12	1	32	2	60	4
King William	16	....	9	6	14	1	39	7
Spotsylvania	16	3	3	3	13	1	32	7
Prince George	15	....	9	3	14	1	38	4
Westmoreland	14	....	8	2	6	.....	28	2
Albemarle	13	1	13	17	5	25	31	43
Surry	12	....	4	....	18	.....	34	
Caroline	10	....	4	3	14	2	28	5
Louisa	10	1	6	5	5	5	21	11
Amherst	9	2	8	13	3	19	20	34
Dinwiddie	9	....	19	13	71	7	99	20
Stafford	8	....	1	4	.....	1	9	5
New Kent	7	....	9	4	15	3	31	7
Northumberland	7	....	.....	....	6	.....	13	
Accomac	6	....	1	1	30	1	37	2
Amelia	6	....	13	2	17	1	36	3
Brunswick	6	....	6	1	23	1	35	2
Chesterfield	6	....	16	4	14	3	36	7
Cumberland	6	....	3	13	13	16	22	29
Isle of Wight	6	....	6	....	17	.....	29	
Augusta	5	28	2	38	2	117	9	183
Northampton	5	....	4	1	28	.....	37	1
Prince William	5	1	5	1	8	.....	18	2
Fairfax	4	....	3	....	2	.....	9	
Orange	4	....	4	7	7	.....	15	7
Prince Edward	4	1	2	2	4	8	10	11
Southampton	4	....	3	....	8	1	15	1
Fauquier	3	1	7	7	14	.....	24	8
Frederick	3	2	8	4	7	3	18	9
Nansemond	3	....	5	....	7	1	15	1

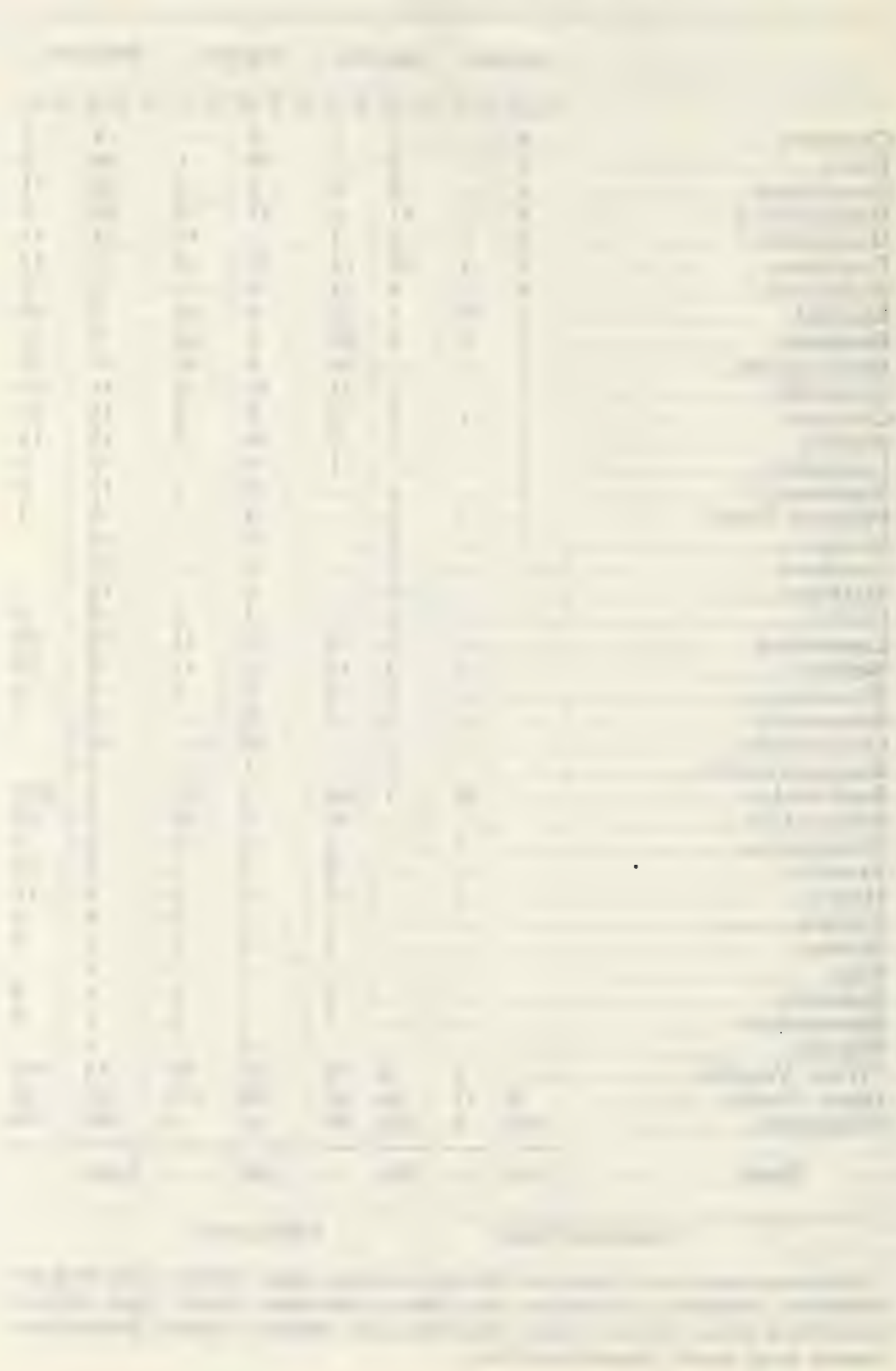


WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—Continued.

	1700–1800.		1800–1825.		1825–1861.		Whole No.	
	W.& M.	W. C.	W.& M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.	W. & M.	W. C.
Charlotte	2	....	1	7	1	.....	4	7
Essex	2	...	2	....	16	1	20	1
Goochland	2	...	8	6	9	5	19	11
Mecklenburg	2	....	11	4	17	2	30	6
Montgomery	2	2	1	3	.....	16	3	21
Powhatan	2	1	18	11	12	2	32	14
Richmond	2	....	1	3	2	.....	5	3
Bedford	1	10	1	13	2	23	4	46
Botetourt	1	8	2	22	5	43	8	73
Buckingham	1	....	.....	10	9	27	10	37
Campbell	1	....	1	11	10	19	12	30
Culpeper	1	1	6	5	6	5	13	11
Halifax	1	....	1	7	16	8	18	15
Lancaster	1	....	.....	1	6	.....	7	1
Nottoway	1	....	4	....	12	7	17	7
Princess Anne	1	1	2	....	3	.....	6	1
Sussex	1	....	6	....	16	.....	23	
Loudoun	.....	....	8	....	3	.....	11	
Mathews	.....	....	6	....	9	.....	15	
Clarke	.....	....	5	....	3	3	8	3
Lunenburg	.....	....	4	2	15	14	19	16
Nelson	.....	1	3	12	3	17	6	30
Fluvanna	.....	....	2	1	6	4	8	5
Alexandria	.....	....	1	2	6	.....	7	2
Greenesville	.....	....	1	....	18	.....	19	
Rappahannock	.....	....	1	....	1	.....	2	
Rockbridge	.....	58	1	105	3	362	4	525
Pittsylvania	.....	.....	.....	10	6	18	6	28
Washington	.....	3	.....	3	3	1	3	7
Franklin	.....	.....	.....	6	2	4	2	10
Henry	.....	1	.....	6	2	4	2	11
Patrick	.....	.....	.....	1	2	2	2	3
Wythe	.....	.....	.....	3	2	5	2	8
Page	.....	.....	.....	....	1	.....	1	
Roanoke	.....	.....	.....	3	1	5	1	8
Shenandoah	.....	.....	.....	1	1	5	1	6
Warren	.....	.....	.....	....	1	.....	1	
*West Virginia	.....	5	4	18	10	80	14	103
Other States	8	11	30	26	169	118	207	155
†Unknown	122	9	144	66	23	5	289	80
Total	721	....	663	....	1,356	.....	2,740	

* The present State. † Not given.

No representation at all have the following counties, almost wholly in the west and southwest: Alleghany, Appomattox, Bath (Bland), Buchanan, Carroll, Craig, (Dickenson), Floyd, Giles, Grayson, Greene, Highland, Lee, Madison, Pulaski, Rockingham, Russell, Scott, Smyth, Tazewell and Wise.



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—CONTINUED.

TABLE FOR OTHER STATES.

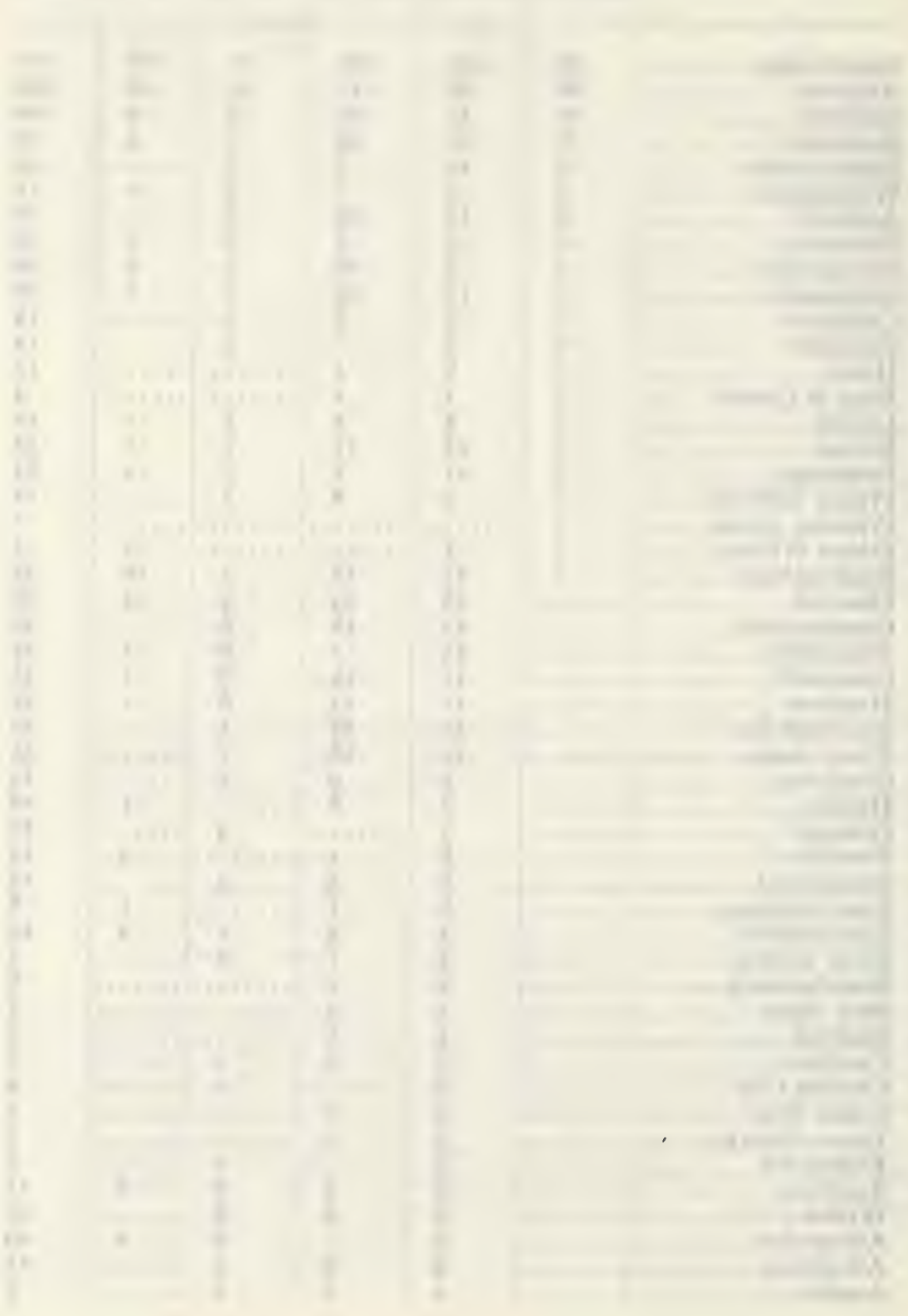
	Before 1801.	1801–1861.
Kentucky	1	12
Massachusetts	.....	3
Maryland	4	29
South Carolina	.....	7
Georgia	.....	19
North Carolina	2	56
Tennessee	.....	7
Pennsylvania	.....	3
Mississippi	.....	12
Florida	.....	2
Alabama	.....	22
New York	.....	4
Louisiana	.....	9
Missouri	.....	3
District of Columbia	.....	7
Maine	.....	1
Illinois	.....	1
Delaware	.....	1
Bermuda	1	1
Total	8	199

This "Table for Other States" differs slightly from the similar table of Mr. C. L. Smith, in Prof. H. B. Adams' treatise on "The College of William and Mary," but Mr. Moss claims to have verified his results more than once.

Mr. Moss further estimates that of the 307 from James City, 248 were from Williamsburg and 7 from Jamestown; of 157 from Henrico, 117 were from Richmond; of the 114 from Norfolk county, 100 were from Norfolk city and 12 from Portsmouth; of the 99 from Dinwiddie, 74 were from Petersburg; of the 48 from Elizabeth City, 28 were from Hampton; of the 32 from Spotsylvania, 19 were from Fredericksburg; of the 57 from York, 13 were from Yorktown; of the 18 from Frederick, 11 were from Winchester; of the 12 from Campbell, 10 were from Lynchburg; of the 36 from Chesterfield, 5 were from Manchester; of the 29 from the Isle of Wight, 5 were from Smithfield; of 5 from the Eastern Shore, 3 were given to Accomac county, and 2 to Northampton, on mere probability.

TABLE FOR WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Rockbridge	58	105	362	117	128	770
Augusta	28	38	117	53	26	262
Bedford	10	13	23	9	9	64
Botetourt	8	22	43	13	4	90
Spotsylvania	3	10	5	5	.....	23
Washington	3	3	1	3	1	11
Amherst	2	13	19	2	.....	36
Frederick	2	4	3	6	7	22
Montgomery	2	3	16	1	4	26
Albemarle	1	17	25	3	2	48
Culpeper	1	5	5	4	.....	15
Fauquier	1	7	.....	5	.....	13
Henry	1	6	4	.....	.....	11
King & Queen	1	1	2	.....	.....	4
Louisa	1	5	5	5	1	17
Nelson	1	12	17	1	1	32
Powhatan	1	11	2	7	2	23
Prince Edward	1	2	8	1	.....	12
Princess Anne	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Prince William	1	1	.....	.....	1	3
Rockingham	1	11	18	3	10	43
Henrico	.....	18	39	9	12	78
Cumberland	.....	13	16	6	.....	35
Dinwiddie	.....	13	7	6	1	27
Campbell	.....	11	19	8	7	45
Hanover	.....	11	13	8	.....	32
Buckingham	.....	10	27	1	.....	38
Pittsylvania	.....	10	18	7	.....	35
Charlotte	.....	9	9	5	.....	23
Halifax	.....	7	8	.....	1	16
Orange	.....	7	.....	3	.....	10
Franklin	.....	6	4	.....	3	13
Goochland	.....	6	5	3	.....	14
King William	.....	6	1	.....	1	8
Chesterfield	.....	4	3	1	2	10
King George	.....	4	1	2	.....	7
Mecklenburg	.....	4	2	.....	.....	6
New Kent	.....	4	3	.....	.....	7
Stafford	.....	4	1	.....	.....	5
Caroline	.....	3	2	2	.....	7
Charles City	.....	3	.....	1	.....	4
James City	.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
Prince George	.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
Richmond	.....	3	.....	2	.....	5
Roanoke	.....	3	5	2	4	14
Wythe	.....	3	5	6	.....	14
Alexandria	.....	2	.....	6	2	10
Alleghany	.....	2	6	3	.....	11
Amelia	.....	2	1	2	.....	5



WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Lunenburg		2	14	2	1	19
Westmoreland		2		1		3
Accomac		1	1	2		4
Appomattox		1	4		1	6
Bath		1	8	1	1	11
Brunswick		1	1	1		3
Elizabeth City		1			1	2
Fluvanna		1	4			5
Lancaster		1				1
Madison		1				1
Northampton		1		3		4
Patrick		1	2		1	4
Shenandoah		1	5	3	1	10
Highland			7	3	1	11
Nottoway			7	4		11
Clarke			3	4	5	12
Gloucester			2			2
Norfolk			2	1	6	9
Craig			1			1
Essex			1	1		2
Greene			1			1
Nansemond			1		1	2
Pulaski			1		3	4
Southampton			1	1		2
Loudoun				7	5	12
Fairfax				3		3
Smyth				3		3
Warren				3		3
Rappahannock				2		2
Giles				1	1	2
Greenesville				1		1
Isle of Wight				1	3	4
Floyd					2	2
Carroll					1	1
Lee					1	1
Mathews					1	1
Page					1	1
Sussex					1	1
*Unknown	9	66	5			80
Other States:						
Pennsylvania	7	1	9	5	6	28
†West Virginia	5	18	80	41	51	195
Kentucky	2	9	7	156	63	237
North Carolina	1	3	18	41	5	68
South Carolina	1	3	1	46	31	82
Mississippi		4	11	59	17	91
Georgia		2	10	64	19	95

* Not given. † The present State.



WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749–1800.	1800–1825.	1825–1864.	1865–1875.	1875–'87.	Total.
Alabama	.....	1	8	80	14	103
Connecticut	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Tennessee	.....	1	12	140	20	173
England	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1
Louisiana	.....	.....	10	91	43	144
Arkansas	.....	.....	6	33	7	46
Missouri	.....	.....	5	46	19	70
Florida	.....	.....	4	12	7	23
Indiana	.....	.....	3	2	1	6
New Jersey	.....	.....	3	2	.....	5
Maryland	.....	.....	3	37	19	59
New York	.....	.....	2	13	4	19
Ohio	.....	.....	2	4	6	12
Ireland	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	2
Illinois	.....	.....	1	4	1	6
Texas	.....	.....	1	135	65	201
California	.....	.....	.....	6	1	7
District of Columbia	.....	.....	.....	2	1	3
Massachusetts	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Japan	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2
Iowa	.....	.....	.....	1	1	2
Kansas	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
France	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Canada	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Mexico	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Idaho	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1
Oregon	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3
Indian Territory	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Central America	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1
Grand total	153	588	1,141	1,398	673	3,953

The number (3955) in the General Catalogue is incorrect, as two numbers (745 and 1,115) were omitted in counting.

Mr. Preston makes a note that of the 770 from Rockbridge, 243 were from Lexington; of the 78 from Henrico, 72 were from the city of Richmond; of the 262 from Augusta, 40 were from Staunton; of the 45 from Campbell, 30 were from Lynchburg; of the 27 from Dinwiddie, 23 were from Petersburg; of the 23 from Spotsylvania, 10 were from Fredericksburg; of the 35 from Pittsylvania, 8 were from Danville; of the 9 from Norfolk county, 7 were from Norfolk city.

Bland, Buchanan, Dickenson, Grayson, Russell, Tazewell and Wise counties in the west; and Middlesex, Northumberland, Surry, Warwick and York counties in the east, are not represented.



NOTES

ON

Recent Work in Southern History.

A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society
Monday, December 21, 1891,

BY

PROFESSOR W. P. TRENT, M. A.,

University of the South.

NOTES

ON

Recent Work in Southern History.

Just two years ago I had the honor of reading before the American Historical Association at Washington, a paper similar in character to the one I am about to present. In that paper I endeavored to give a fair statement of what was then being done for the cause of Southern history, and the description I gave of the conditions under which our historical scholars had to work could hardly have been considered cheerful. I ventured to predict, however, that it would not be long before the South would awake to the necessity of encouraging the study of her own history, and it is because I believe there are signs of this awakening already visible around us that I have ventured to put together these brief and incomplete "notes."

To one who is at all acquainted with the history of the South the present comparative indifference of her people to strictly historical matters is no matter of surprise. The paucity and the thinness of the South's contributions to early American literature have been acknowledged by all competent investigators; and the chief reasons therefor have been correctly assigned. The same reasons that told so heavily against the creation of literature proper, told also against the inception and completion of much sound and extensive historical work. Here and there a gentleman of special qualifications or of leisure and ability would pro-



duce a valuable biography, or a conscientious State history. Witness for example, Marshall's "Life of Washington," and Ramsay's "History of South Carolina." Sometimes a wider, sometimes a narrower field than a single State would be attempted; more rarely a well-trained scholar like Judge Gayarre would give up the best part of his life to gathering materials for an exhaustive work. But when all is said, it has to be confessed that the number of real historical students in the old South was very small. The smallness of their numbers, as well as foreign example, naturally suggested the advisability of co-operation, and so the various State Historical Societies arose, our own being the first.[1] None of these societies, however, did any very serious work before the war, and none has ever approximated a full measure of usefulness. The Georgia Society did induce Bishop Stevens to write his history of that State, and the South Carolina Society early turned its attention to the colonial documents deposited in the State paper office in London; but it must be owned that upon the whole the Southern societies have collected no very valuable libraries; that they have not rendered such collections as they do possess thoroughly accessible; that, with the exception of our own Society of late years, they have been very irregular in their publications. It would not be hard to name more than one Northern society that has done more for historical science in a decade than all the Southern societies have done since their inception.

The reasons for this condition of things are, as I have said, not far to seek. The immaturity of the country, the scattered nature of its population, the absorption of the leading intellects in politics, the free and easy-going life led by the upper classes, finally, the depressing effects of the presence of an institution which had survived its uses—all these causes operated in the ante-bellum South to depress literary and scientific work. But historical work was subjected to further drawbacks. It was possible for a gentleman of means to collect a sufficient library for

[1] The Virginia Society was founded in 1831 (chartered 1834), that of Georgia in 1839, that of North Carolina in 1840 (chartered 1875), that of Tennessee in 1847 (chartered 1877), that of Alabama in 1851, that of South Carolina in 1855. The Louisiana Historical Society was incorporated in 1860.

ordinary purposes—sufficient even for the purposes of the classical scholar or the *literateur*—but it was not possible for him to collect a library large enough to serve the purposes of the historian, certainly not the historian of recent times. This difficulty might have been overcome in part had the South possessed cities with large public libraries, or had the separate States done their duty with respect to the publication of their own archives. But throughout the South public libraries were—and are now—practically non-existent, the public archives were in a state of "confusion worse confounded." What wonder, then, that the historical work done by our ancestors was limited in quantity and old-fashioned in quality? We ought rather to consider it a matter for congratulation and praise that they did any historical work at all, especially when we remember that the scientific study of history is not many years old, even in England itself.

I am of course far from denying that they read and studied history—few Americans know more about history, at least about that of their own country, than Southern men—but I am afraid that they regarded it chiefly as a study ancillary to their favorite pursuit of politics. That they sometimes made queer use of their historical acquisitions is abundantly evident from Calhoun's praise of the Constitution of Poland. But when all is said, we still owe a debt of gratitude to the early Southern historians. From the days of Stith to the present hour, they have been a much-enduring class of men. They have had little encouragement, and they have always got their full share of criticism. No one ever forgets to say that their works are, as a rule, decorously dull; but a good many people forget to give them credit for their single-hearted zeal.

The evil effects of the late war upon Southern historical studies cannot be easily exaggerated. Long before hostilities were actually begun, these effects were very visible to all that had the eyes to see. One evil effect has been noted already. The prevalent desire to sustain certain positions held by the South in political matters, led her ablest men to look on history chiefly as a study ancillary to politics. The steps are few and easy from this natural but degrading view of history to the still more degrading view held by the pronouncedly-partisan historian. This last evil consequence of the civil strife of the generation just past is yet

visible in the historical writings of both sections, and will only slowly disappear. It will disappear at last, but long after the effects that the poverty and unsettled condition of the South have had upon her historical literature. These effects have naturally been considerable. Few men have had leisure to read and study in the South since the war, and fewer still to write. Few men have had time or opportunity to acquire the training which is now so requisite in all intellectual pursuits. Few have had the money to endow chairs of history in our colleges, to found libraries, or even to encourage by an annual subscription the various historical societies. Our State governments have been in no condition to vie with Northern States or with foreign countries in making their archives accessible. That they might have done more than they have done, that the little money they have appropriated for the purpose might have been better spent, it would be vain to deny; but they can at least plead more in their defense than our late billion dollar Congress can for its dereliction in this regard. In short, if the old South's lack of zeal for historical studies is not surprising, that of the new South is still less so.

But it is time I was bringing this introduction to a close and saying something about the recent work which gives my paper its title. This work is not very considerable in amount, but it plainly represents an advance over the state of things described in my paper of 1889.[2] At that time I could do little more than point out the encouraging features connected with the establishment of the Louisiana Historical Association at New Orleans, and of the Filson Club at Louisville. I could also give a hint of Mr. Hugh R. Garden's patriotic intention of presenting the Southern Society of New York with the nucleus of a collection of books relating to the South—a collection which is now an accomplished as well as a catalogued fact, and which is destined to grow. By a queer piece of forgetfulness I omitted all reference to what was by far the most encouraging fact I could have alluded to—the fact that North Carolina had put herself in line with New York by editing and publishing all the documents

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[2] Papers of the American Historical Association, Vol. IV, Part IV, pp. 383-391.

relating to her colonial history. But if I could not say much that was favorable, I was not at a loss for subjects that required unfavorable comment. I could quote Mr. Brock, for example, as writing that so many members failed to answer his appeals that he could not say how many live members the Virginia Historical Society had. I could quote the President of the Alabama Society as writing that Alabama history could be better studied at Boston or at Washington than within the State. I could also point out that the valuable archives kept in this very building[3] in which we are now holding our session, might any day be destroyed by fire. I could show, too, that I was no new Cassandra, for I quoted Charles Campbell as referring to this danger in 1859. I am not aware that we have yet saved our Troy, and if our archives may be fitly called our Palladium, I am not so sure that some wily Greek, like my friend Professor Jameson, will not ere long leave us in the lurch by carrying off the best part of their contents in his note-book. But if I indulged in pessimistic reflections in the body of my paper I allowed myself, nevertheless, to become a genial optimist in the conclusion, for I insisted upon the fact that the South would soon have a class of men having antiquarian tastes, and having the leisure and the wealth requisite to their pursuit. I showed, also, that Southern history offered a fascinating field of research to historical students of other sections; and I have reason to know that several Northern students of history have been turning their eyes of late toward the South. For example, a graduate student of history at Cornell is writing his doctor's thesis on the Ku-Klux movement. But our own recent work is growing cold.

Beginning with Maryland, which was not considered in my first paper, I desire to call attention to the proposition of the Woman's Literary Club, of Baltimore, to found a library of the works of all authors who have lived or written in Maryland. This movement deserves to be noted for two reasons—first, because it indicates a proper appreciation of the value of local history; secondly, because it shows that women are able to sympathize with the scientific as well as with the sentimental side of historical work. There is obviously no reason why women should not aid historians with their sympathy and enthusiasm;

[3] The Capitol at Richmond.

there is equally no reason why women should not become historians themselves. The working force of the generations to come is likely to be doubled through the recognition of woman's capacity to use her brains about other than strictly household matters, and I cannot help hoping that the cause of Southern history will derive great future advantage from two "emancipations" instead of from one.

But Maryland has a still greater claim to our attention, from the fact that the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore is the centre of historical investigation in this country. It is no exaggeration to say, that the work Professor Herbert B. Adams is doing with his graduate classes is likely to be *the* most important factor in the future development of historical studies in the South. Every year Dr. Adams sends out one or more young Southerners trained for historical pursuits, ready to teach history in our colleges, and eager to prosecute original researches in the history of their respective States. I know of three such students sent to Southern colleges within the past year. Besides, the John Hopkins is itself forming a valuable library of materials for Southern history. The Scharf collection recently secured, is, I am informed, full of good things, and I can testify from personal examination to the value of the Birney collection in all matters relating to slavery. Nor should the essays and treatises on topics of Southern history, written at the Johns Hopkins, under Dr. Adam's own eye, be omitted from this count, especially the educational mongraphs which he has edited. Attention should also be called to the publications of the Maryland Historical Society under the editorship of another Hopkins official, Dr. William Hand Browne.

Passing to Virginia, we find in this gathering an evidence of the fact that our venerable society seems to be taking a new lease of life. We find also that our Virginia women with their "Society for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities," are not a whit behind those of Maryland in their appreciation of the neceessity for stimulating interest in local history.[4] We note

[4] The Virginia Branch of the Daughters of the Revolution (Mrs William Wirt Henry, Regent) are making efforts to raise an endowment for the Virginia Historical Society—a most noteworthy object.

furthermore that two members of this society have recently published works which will take their places in the permanent historical literature of the country. I refer, of course, to Mr. Alexander Brown's "Genesis of the United States," and to Mr. William Wirt Henry's biography of Patrick Henry. Nor do these names at all exhaust the list of the Virginians who are active in historical investigation. The work of Mr. Brock, President Tyler, Dr. Page, Mr. Moncure Conway and many others is familiar to us all. We must also remember that when our wretched debt question becomes settled, the State authorities will be deprived of their perennial excuse for their backwardness in publishing our archives. It will not be long before they will have to erect a fire-proof building for such documents as the teeth of time and of mice have left us; and in the meantime we can all hope that they will appropriate enough money to have the Northampton and other county records copied.

The recent activity of North Carolina with regard to her archives has been commended already, but a word of praise should be given here to the editor of the "Colonial Records," Hon. W. L. Saunders; to Dr. Kemp P. Battle, who has been a life-long laborer in local history, and to some younger students like Drs. Smith and Weeks for their valuable monographs. South Carolina up to last summer appeared to be sleeping soundly, but the activity of her Northern neighbor seems to have awakened her. A committee of the State Historical Society began in June to collect information as to the cost of procuring copies of all documents in the Public Record Office at London, not hitherto copied, relating to the history of the province and the colony. The chairman of this committee was Hon. William A. Courtenay, who, during the time that he was mayor of Charleston, did much to encourage historical studies by the publication of the Charleston "Year Books," and was largely instrumental in having copies made of the so-called "Shaftsbury Papers," which another committee of the society is soon to edit. Mr. Courtenay and his colleagues having got their information into shape, began an effective propaganda among the counties and parishes, in order to force the Legislature by popular pressure to appropriate the small sum necessary for the accomplishment of their purpose. A good deal of interest having been aroused, a

public meeting in behalf of the project was held at Columbia on December 1st. At the time of this writing a bill drawn up by friends of the movement has passed the lower House in a modified form, and it is unlikely that the Senate will withhold its assent.[5] Thus South Carolina has probably secured copies of her colonial records, but she has also had her people of all classes aroused to the necessity of local historical work. If the members of her society will bestir themselves to keep the public interest from flagging, they will find that their future work will be greatly stimulated.

Passing to Georgia, we see that her historical work is still chiefly connected with one name, that of Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., who has recently found time to publish a volume of biographical sketches. Georgia has, also, what is perhaps the most valuable archæological collection in the Southern States, that of Dr. Roland Steiner of Waynesboro. It is further to be noted that a separate chair of history has recently been established in the State University, which is a decided step in advance. But it is the splendid example of constancy and high endeavor set by a citizen of Alabama that gives me most hope with regard to the future of Southern historical work. I refer to the labors of Mr. Hannis Taylor of Mobile, upon English constitutional history. When a lawyer in full practice can become so enamoured of scholarly work as to devote both time and money to pursuing researches similar to those which Mr. Taylor has undertaken, certainly no one need despair of the future of historical scholarship in the South.

In my paper of two years ago, the space devoted to the States of Mississippi, Florida and Arkansas, was almost as short as the famous chapter on snakes in Ireland. There was practically no historical work to record, not even a semi-defunct historical society to attend to. Recently movements for the establishment of State societies have taken place in all three of these States, and, although it is too soon to prophesy any specific results, it is safe to infer that good will be accomplished by the agitation of so important a matter. I have mentioned already the work doing by the new Louisiana Historical Association. From a

[5] The bill has since passed.

newspaper report of the contributions lately received by this Association I judge that it has succeeded in arousing some popular interest. When people come forward voluntarily and deposit their antiquarian treasures in a public museum instead of keeping them selfishly at home, a great step forward has been made.

Lack of space prevents me from doing justice to the work of the Filson Club of Louisville, nor can I pay more than a passing tribute to the activity of the West Virginia Historical and Antiquarian Society, which, if it has not yet done great things, is evidently working along modern lines.[6] I must mention, however, a society which, although just organized, will, I hope, do good work and set a good example. I refer to the Sewanee Historical Society, recently founded by officers, students and friends of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. As I happen to be president of this Society, and somewhat responsible for its existence, I should prefer to keep silent about it, but for the fact that it seems to me to stand for one or two ideas which may be fruitful of good to the cause which I have most at heart—the cause of Southern history. Whether the Sewanee Society will succeed in accomplishing the objects it proposes to itself cannot now be determined, but the ideas it stands for can be weighed in the balance now, and if approved can be acted upon at once by others.

The first idea is to enlist in the service of historical research all the forces that go to make up a university. Every student, alumnus and friend of Sewanee is to be appealed to for contributions ranging from an Indian arrow head to a life member's fee. Corresponding members have been selected from among the alumni, especially the clergy, to spread the historical propaganda in every city and parish in the South. Some have already responded in a loyal way, for it is a great thing to touch into activity two such strong feelings, as love for one's *alma mater*, and love for one's country. The law is said not to care for trifles, but the Sewanee Society does, for it believes that the best way to found an historical library and museum is to appeal for small gifts; for what

[6] It has recently established a "Magazine of Southern History," under the editorship of Professor Virgil A. Lewis.

most people would regard as trifles; old letters, old newspapers, odd numbers of magazines, any book printed in the South, be it only a school arithmetic. Not a student is allowed to leave the University without having it impressed upon him that he will confer a personal favor upon the officers of the society if he will keep a sharp lookout for such things. Now this idea of utilizing students and alumni is not new, but I am not aware that it has yet been applied by many of our Southern colleges in behalf of local history. I pass over the obvious advantages which the calm seclusion of a university offers for the study of history, in order to say a few words about another idea which this Society represents.

The Society is managed by an executive council which is organized like a German seminary. It meets frequently, hears papers read, and is responsible for the proper use of the materials gathered by the Society. Each member is assigned special work—genreally by the president—and it has been resolved that for several years to come this work must be local in character. In other words, the council is pledged to prepare a careful history of the University of the South, and if it does no more than this, it will at least do more than some older and more important American universities have yet done for themselves. The Society, therefore, stands for the idea that minute work on local history must be prosecuted before any lasting work can be done in the more ambitious field of general Southern history.

Now, why cannot every college and university in the South have a local historical society working in a true seminary style? I believe that Richmond College already has one. And why should not every town, village and city have one as well? Such societies need not interfere in the slightest degree with the State societies—they should rather be auxiliary to them. They can be organized by a dozen earnest persons, and certainly every college that has a professor of history ought to be able to furnish a competent director for the work. It would seem, by the way, that this historical work could be easily fitted in with the schemes for university extension, which are being so vigorously discussed. I know of no more fruitful way of preparing a community to receive the benefits of university extension—and if I mistake not our Southern universities are too much cut off from the great

public that lives and moves around them—than by instituting preliminary courses in local history, to be conducted by the professor of history in the nearest college or other institution of learning.

But my time is exhausted and I must bring these "notes" to a conclusion. I trust that this paper has shown that the Southern people are beginning to see the necessity for encouraging their historical students, and that the work these students are doing is being done on right lines. I believe that year by year more materials for Southern history will be gathered and more scholarly work done on them. I believe that the time will soon come when the self-sacrifice and patient endurance of the Southern historians of the past and present will be generally recognized and praised. At any rate I am certain that we are even now far removed from the time when the following incident could occur in a Southern State and among educated men.

A certain Georgia citizen, whose name is not given, wrote an account of some stirring scene in his State's early history. He died before he could have his monograph published. Two gentlemen of high standing, probably lawyers, were appointed his executors. They undertook the delicate task of apportioning the estate among the several heirs, and things went on swimmingly for a time until the testator's manuscript was reached. Here a difficulty arose. It could not be divided. To publish it would be an unheard-of extravagance. It could not be left to become a bone of contention to the heirs. What, then, did these exemplary gentlemen—men who could doubtless have defended with great zeal and eloquence the genial practices of lynching and dueling—do with the manuscript? They burned it![7]

W. P. TRENT.

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[7] From a pamphlet by Governor George R. Gilmer. of Georgia, quoted in *The Southern Quarterly Review* for April, 1852 (Vol. XXI, p. 514).

ANCIENT

Epitaphs and Inscriptions,

IN

York and James City Counties,

VIRGINIA.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MONDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1891,

BY

PROF. J. L. HALL,

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE, VIRGINIA.

Ancient Epitaphs and Inscriptions

IN

York and James City Counties,

VIRGINIA.

The accompanying catalogue of inscriptions is believed to be quite complete for York and James City counties. Most of them are *fac-similes*. For those in Williamsburg and on the college premises I can personally vouch; most of the others have been copied by very careful hands. I hope that this will prove a nucleus for a larger work. Should the duties of his position allow the time the writer of this paper will add to the collection, and Mr. Lyon G. Tyler has promised to devote some of his enthusiastic attention to the subject of inscriptions.

With readers of this volume it is no doubt unnecessary to argue as to the value of such researches as those whose results are now submitted. We need only stir up their pure minds by way of remembrance. We need only point them to the catacombs of Rome; to the sepulchral stones of Etruria; to the monuments of Assyria and Babylonia; to the obelisks and pyramids of Egypt, whose secrets have so recently been revealed through the labors of Champollion. Here among us there is need for such explorers, for if there be sermons in

stones, there are also volumes of history in the monumental rocks which fill the ancient church-yards of Virginia.

May these few facts prove the nucleus of a great movement. May some Virginia Champollion use this paper as a starting point, and, stirred by a lofty enthusiasm and by untiring devotion to history in all its phases, unlock the secrets of our tombs. There is need of early and prompt attention.

The hand of Time and of the vandal, more remorseless than Time, is fast chipping away our sepulchral marbles. Many dates have been lost forever. Since the days of Bishop Meade many inscriptions that he read have been partly or totally obliterated; and at Jamestown itself depredators do not hesitate to carry of large pieces of the old tombstones.

The inscriptions now submitted run from 1655 to 1800. They are taken from private family lots, from churches and church-yards, and from the chapel of William and Mary College. For convenience of reference they have been classified under eleven heads, which will be easily distinguished by glancing at the lists.

Year after year the monuments are falling to ruin. Exposed, as most of them are, to extreme heat and cold, they are rapidly perishing. There are persons now living in Williamsburg who can remember when there were many more monuments in Bruton church-yard than now remain. These that are left are in excellent order. Some of them have recently been raised several feet out of the ground, thanks to the efforts of a noble lady of antiquarian spirit.

Cannot this Society arouse public interest in such matters? Is it too bold to propose removing many of the old, uncared-for monuments to some central point? Can we not have a great mausoleum for our most famous colonial dead? Let us have a veritable Westminster Abbey of Virginia. The State is about to have her ancient records copied, to save them for the historian. Is it not equally important to preserve the tombs of our early dead? Besides the ruin already referred to, it may be mentioned that new-comers are selling some of the old monuments to relic hunters. How much better to gather all the oldest to one place. There let the State build a mausoleum—simple but substantial—like our men of old. A small outlay every year

for ten years would bring most of the old monuments to the spot selected. There, under shelter and guarded by loving hearts, let the sacred ashes repose in peace, and the tombs be guarded from the vandal and from the tempest.

From a careful study of the old inscriptions one might draw many valuable conclusions. Their naïve simplicity and truth gives them great historic value. There is little chance of fraud. Manuscripts have been forged often, inscriptions rarely. As material for history, they may well rank with the letter and the diary.

One fact that the monuments prove is that human life has been lengthened in this century. Few, in early days, were the patriarchs and the mothers in Israel. Many distinguished men died at thirty-five and forty ; few of either sex reached the full three-score, the average age being forty-three. This will throw light on a great-grandfather's words when he writes, at fifty, that the cares of age press heavily upon him.

The Virginia quality of hospitality comes out plainly in the inscriptions. In President Nelson's epitaph he is said to have excelled in "the graces of hospitality, charity, and piety." Of one of the honorable women in early Virginia it is said that "she spent an exemplary life in the continual exercise of piety, charity, and hospitality."

Of the tombs in and around Williamsburg a large number have armorial bearings. Doubtless many others would have them had they not been very expensive to cut in marble. Many of the coats-of-arms are still found among the noble houses of England. Is not the conclusion forced upon us that the dead armigers and honorables either belonged to the higher gentry or were sprung from younger sons of the nobility?

Interesting literary material is found in these inscriptions. They silently refute the charge that the early Virginians were indifferent to literary reform and literary progress. They help to prove that Johnson's dictionary revolutionized the spelling of the Virginia colony. Is this revolution of no importance? Is it of no significance that within five years after Johnson published his book a marked change took place in the orthography of the Virginians, and that within five more there are almost no important deviations between that orthography and the English

standard? More than that—the most casual reader can see, in most of the long inscriptions, unmistakable signs of literary environment. Not only are verses taken from the popular poet of the era, but reminiscences of Bolingbroke, of Addison, and of Samuel Johnson are seen in almost every sentence. All this strengthens our belief that the early Virginians were not all fox-hunting, swearing, illiterate cavaliers, but were a refined and cultivated people. Not that they were deeply-read scholars and literary critics. This we cannot claim. But for their times, as educational matters then stood, they were gentlemen of literary instincts and literary polish.

J. L. HALL.

I.

WILLIAMSBURG,

INCLUDING

Bruton Church-yard, Mural Tablets, College Chapel, Etc.

Here Lyes the Corps of John
Yuille Merchant Son to Thomas
Yuile of Darleith in the County of
D . . . . . on Scotland who died at
W . . . . burgh in Virginia upon
the 2 . . . day of October 1746 years
in the 27th year of his Age.

Numine et Virtute
[ARMS][1]

Here lyes the Body of
Mr JOHN COLLETT
who departed this Life
February 24th 1749, Aged 52 Years

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[1] Burke, "General Armory," gives as arms of Yuille, (London), and Yule, (Darleith, Scotland): Ar. on a fesse betw. three crescents sa. a garb or, branded gu.

Crest,—An ear of wheat ppr. leaved vert.

Motto. Numine et virtute.

No criticism is intended in the remark that Professor Hall does not describe verbally or pictorially arms appearing with the inscriptions. As he does not, however, the editor can be guided in annotation only by such information as he possesses and by apprehension. In the daily increasing regard for family history, coat-armor is an important guide in linking families with remote ancestry.

Here lyes the corps
of Hugh Orr hammer
man in Williamsburg
who died Jan'ry 6th 1764
aged 54 years.

Here Lies ye
Body of ANN
CHARLTON
wife of George
Charlton who
Died Sep
in the
Year of her
Age.

R [ARMS] R
Here Lies the Body
of ROBERT RAE Merc
hant in FALMOUTH
son of ROBERT RAE
Esqr of Little GOVAN
near GLASGOW in
NORTH BRITAIN, he
departed this Life
May 30 1753
in the 30 year of his
Age.

Here lies
the body of
MARY NICOLSON
the wife of Robert Nicolson,
who departed this life
Oct. 10th 1793,[2]
In the 73d year of her age.

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[2] These were, it is believed, the parents of two worthy sons: Robert, a surgeon in the army of the Revolution, and George Nicolson, who was Mayor of Richmond in 1790, and subsequently. One of the daughters of the latter was the wife of the late Rev. George Woodbridge, D. D., so long the beloved rector of the Monumental (Episcopal) church.—ED.

Here sleeps in Jesus united to Him
by Faith and the Graces of a Christian
life, all that was Mortal of Mrs. Ann Burges
once the tender and affectionate Wife
of the Rev[d] HENRY JOHN BURGES,
of the ISLE OF WIGHT: She died 25[th]
December 1771 in giving Birth to an
Infant Daughter, who rests in her Arms.
She here waits the transporting Moment
when the Trump of God shall call her
Forth to Glory. Honour & Immortality,
Oh DEATH where is thy Sting?
Oh GRAVE where is thy Victory?

Here Lyeth the Body of Ann
the Wife of Graham Frank[3]
and Daughter of the Rev[d] M[r]
Theod[s] Staige who died on
the Feast of S[t] Andrew 1759
Aged 28 Years[4]

Here Lyes Interred The
Remains of Mary Purdie Wife of
Alex[r] Purdie Printer who departed
This Life On Saturday y[e] 28, of March

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[3] Bishop Meade ("Old Churches and Families of Virginia," Vol. I, p. 203) mentions Graham Frank as a merchant of London, and a correspondent of Rev. Samuel Sheild and of the Nelsons.

[4] Rev. Theodosius Staige came, with an unmarried sister, to Virginia, and was the rector of St. George's parish, Spotsylvania county, some time prior to November, 1728. He served also for a time York-Hampton parish. Another sister (Letitia Maria Ann) had married in London Rev. James Marye, a native of Rouen, Normandy, France, the ancestor of the well-known Virginia family of the name. (See Descendants of, in "Huguenot Emigration to Virginia," *Virginia Historical Collections*, Vol. V.) Another daughter of Mr. Staige married Samuel Thompson, Orange county, Virginia, and they had issue, among others possibly, a son, William Staige. The name Staige is a favored Christian name in the Davis and other families of Virginia. A distinguished instance was the late Prof. John Staige Davis, M D., of the University of Virginia.—ED.

1772 in the 27 year of her age. She left
Behind her four sons Ja[s] Hugh Alex[r]
and William, and [by] her side lie Jane
a dear little Daughter who did not
quite attain her second year. She
was a virtuous loving, frugal and
discreet wife, an affectionate, though
discerning Mother, one of the best
of Mistresses. As Friend and Ac
quaintance, she possesed the Qua
lifications which render that Con
nection valuable for she was Sen
sible Prudent Generous and
honest hearted no deceit lay un
der her Tongue. Her Husband
in Gratitude for the ardent affection
she bore him the genuine esteem he
had for her and in Justice to her
Virtues caused this stone to be
placed over her It will on
day serve to con[5]

Here lyes the Bodies of [BUCK]
NER STITH[6] and CATHERINE STITH
Son and Eldest Daughter of
STITH of Northampton County.
BUCKNER a hopeful Youth
[born] the 3[d] Day of January 1747 [departed]
this Life in this City the
of December 1766.
* * * * *
died an Infant Eighteen days old

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[5] Alexander Purdie was for years public printer of the colony, and the publisher in his own name and as a member of the firm of Purdie & [John] Dixon, of *The Virginia Gazette*.—ED.

[6] The children of Griffin and Mary (Blackley) Stith. Griffin Stith was a son of Drury and Susannah (Bathurst) Stith, nephew of Rev. Mr. Stith, the historian, and grandson of Colonel John Stith, who patented land in Charles City county in 1663, and was High Sheriff in 1691.—ED.

Also the Body of
Mrs CATHERINE BLACKLEY late of this City
Grandmother of the above Named Children
She departed this Life the 25th Day of
October 1771 Aged 73 Years and upwards.

Memento Mori
Here lyeth the Corps
of James Grinley
son of Alexr Grinley
in Dunbar Scotland
Who Departed
this life the 10 Day
of Jully 1763
in the Twentyeth
year of his Age.

Here lieth the Body of Mr Joseph
Scrivener who was born at Oldney
in Buckinghamshire in England
and died here the 14th of October
1772 in the Fiftieth Year of his Age.

Here Lies ye Body
of MICHAEL ARCHER Gent
who was Born ye 29 of Septr.
1681 Near RIPPON in YORKshire
And died ye 10 of February 1726
in ye 46 year of his Age.

Also JOANNA ARCHER
Wife of MICHAEL ARCHER who
Departed this life
Octor 1 1732[7]

---

[7] Michael Archer was clerk of James City county from 1719, and perhaps earlier, until his death. George Archer, believed to be the ancestor of the Archers of Henrico, Amelia, Powhatan and other counties, patented 550 acres of land in Henrico county, June 2, 1665 (Book V, p. 69, Land Registry).

In memory of Judith Greenhow
a Sincere Christian
She died the Seventh day
of January 1765
and in the 29 year of her age
How loved how valued once avails thee not[8]
To whom Related or by whom begot!
A heap of Dust alone remains of thee,
So all thou art, and all the proud shall be

Here lies in hopes of a Blessed
Resurrection, the Remains
of Mr Thomas Hornsby
who was for many Years
a Merchant in this City.
He was Born in Lincolnshire
in England,
January 17th 1702
and died May 27th 1772
the Remains
of Mrs Margaret Hornsby
Wife of Mr Thomas Hornsby
who died February 2 . . . 1770
Aged 66 Years.[9]

From a book-plate of William Archer, a descendant, which has been preserved, the family appears to have been from Cornwall, England.

Frederick Johnston, in his meritorious "Memorials of Virginia Clerks" laments the destruction of the records of James City county, in the burning of the court-house in Richmond, April 3, 1865, and commences his list of clerks of the county with Leonard A. Henley, 1831.—Ed.

[8] Somewhat mutilated; but I have completed the lines by reference to Pope.

[9] Thomas Hornsby was highly esteemed and very successful as a merchant. Joseph Hornsby, probably his son, was a vestryman of Bruton parish in 1774.—Ed.

[ARMS]
Under this Marble Rest y^e^ Ashes
of His Excellency. EDWARD NOTT
Late Governor of this Collony who
In his Private character was a good
Christian and in his Public a good
Governor he was A lover of Mankind
And Bountiful to his Friends By y^e^
Sanctity of his Moralls and y^e^ Mildness
Prudence and justice of his Administra-
tion he was Deservedly Esteemed A
Public Blessing while he Lived & when
He Dyed A Public Callamity. he Departe^d^
This Life the 23^d^ Day of August 1706
Aged 49 Years.
In Gratefull Remembrance of who
se many Dutyes the Generall Assembly
of this Collony have Erected this
Monument.[10]

SACRED
to the Memory of
JAMES NICOLSON
late steward of
William and Marys COLLEGE
he was born in the town of Inverners
NORTH-BRITAIN
ANNO 1711
and died the 22 ^of^ January
1773
industry. frugality. integrity.
simplicity. of manners and
independence of SOUL

---

[10] Edward Nott entered upon his duties as Lieutenant-Governor August 15, 1705. He procured the passage by the Assembly of an act for the building of a "palace" for the Governor, with an appropriation of £3,000, also an act establishing the general court; but the last was disallowed by the British Board of Trade. During Governor Nott's administration the College of William and Mary was destroyed by fire.—ED.

Adorned his Character and
procured him Universal Esteem
READER
Learn from this Example that
As the most Exalted station may
be debased by VICE so there
is no situation in life on
which VIRTUE will not confer
DIGNITY!

To the Memory of
Mr CHARLES HUNT,
late of this PARISH.
He died the 11th day
of Octr 1794
Aged 41 Years.
Regretted by all who knew him.

KATHERINE THORP
Relick of Capt THOMAS
THORP Nephew to Major
THOMAS THORP Formerly
Inhabitant of this Parish
after a Pilgrimage of Forty
three yeares in a Troublesome
world Lay Downe here to
Rest in hope of a Joyfull
Resurection obiit June 6th
1695

Here lyeth in Hope of a joyfull
Resurrection the Body of Capt
THOMAS THORP of Bruton
Parish in the Dominion of Virginia
Nephew of Maj. OTHO THORP
of the same Parish who Departed
This Life the 7 day of October
Ano 1693 Aged 48

[ARMS][11]

H S E

EDWARDUS BARRADALL ARMIGER
Qui
In legum studiis feliciter versatus
Attornati Generalis et Admiralitatis Iudicis
Amplicissimus Partes merito obtinuit
Fideliter obivit
Collegium GULIELMI et MARIÆ
Cum Gubernator
Tum in Conventu Generali Senator
Propugnavit
SARAM
Viri Honorabilis
GUIL. FITZHUGH Armigeri
Serenissimae Reginae ANNÆ in Virginia a Consilios
Filiam Natu minimam
Tam Mortis quam Vitae Sociam
Uxorem habuit.
Obierunt

ille XIII Cal Iulii
illa Non Oct
A D. MDCCXLIII
Æ { XXXIX / XXX

Hic iuxta situs est
HENRICUS BARRADALL
E. B. supra dicti Frater
Qui
Obiit XVIII Cal Octob A. D. MDCCXXXVII
Ætat XXVII
BLUMFIELD BARRADALL tantum Frater[12]

---

[11] From a rough drawing in the possession of the editor, the arms of Barradall (tinctures not given), a bend, three pheons, an annulet for difference, are impaled with Fitzhugh—Az.: three chevrons braced in base of escutcheon, or, a chief of the last. William Fitzhugh, lawyer, planter, merchant and shipper, the ancestor of the well-known family of the name, was born in Bedford, England, January 9, 1651; settled in that portion of Stafford, now comprising Prince George county; died at his seat, Bedford, Virginia, in October, 1701.—ED.

[12] Last few lines so badly worn as to be illegible.

The epitaph of *Rev. Roland Jones*, first rector of Bruton Parish. Bishop Meade is not accurate Owing to the ignorance of workman recently employed in the church-yard, the epitaph is permanently distorted. The following is approximately correct:

Hic jacet ROLANDUS IONES
clericus filius ROLANDI JONES
clerici Natus Swimbrook juxta
Burford in Comii Uxoii Collegii
Merton Universitate Oxoii
Alumnus Parochiae Bruton Virginia
Pastor primus & delectissimus
Funcnone Pastorali annis 14
fideliter d Parochiae quam
maximo de Obiit Ap 23
die Ætatis suae 48 Anno D 1688

Here Lyes the Body of
MARGARET BROWN wife to
Doctor JOHN BROWN of WILLIAMSBURG
late of COLD STREAM NORTH BRITAIN
who died the 22[d] day of AUGUST 1720
in the 36 year of Her Age
Prob ! Dolor quao fuit Clarissime.

Here Lyes the Body of JANE BROWN
Daughter to the foresaid JOHN BROWN
who died the 30 August 1720 the
14 day of Her Age.

[ARMS] [13]
Under this Marble lieth the Body
of THOMAS LUDWELL Esq[r]
Secretary of VIRGINIA, who was born
at Bruton in the County of SOMERSET

---

[13] The arms upon the book-plate of Philip Ludwell of "Green Spring" are: Gu, a bend ar., three eagles displayed sa. between three towers. *Motto*—Pensieri stretti edil viso sciolto.—ED.

in the Kingdom of ENGLAND, and
departed this Life in the Year 1678 And
near this place lye the Bodies of RICHARD
KEMP, Esq[r] his Predecessor in y[e] Secretarys
Office[14] and S[r] THOMAS LUNSFORD K[t]
in Memory of whom this Marble is placed
by Order of PHILIP LUDWELL Esq[r]
Nephew of the said THOMAS LUDWELL
in the Year 1727

Here lies
in hopes of a joyful
Resurrection all that was
mortal of IOHN GREENHOW,
late of this City, Merchant,
He was born in STAUNTON,
near KENDAL in Westmoreland,
Great Britain, November the 12[th]
1724 & died the 29[th] August 1787,
after a very short Illness.
On his left side lies ELIZABETH

---

[14] Richard Kemp was a member of the Council of Virginia, 1642, and as its President in June, 1644, upon the departure of Sir William Berkeley for England, became the acting Governor of the Colony. It is notable that during his incumbency the first fast and thanksgiving days in the Colony, of which any record is preserved, were ordered. "Att James Cittye the 17th of February, 1644-5," it was "enacted by the Governour, Counsell and Burgesses of this present Grand Assembly, for God's glory and the publick benefit of the Collony to the end that God might avert his heavie judgments that are now upon vs, That the last Wednesday in every month be sett apart for a day of ffast and humiliation. And that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching." Also "That the eighteenth day of April be yearly celebrated by thanksgivings for our deliverance from the hands of Salvages." Referring to the recent massacre by the Indians (*Hening's Statutes*, I, pp. 289, 290). Sir William Berkeley returning in June, 1645, resumed the government of Virginia, but Richard Kemp continued to serve the Colony as a member of the Council until 1648, and perhaps later, latterly as the Secretary of the body. He died some time before 1678—ED.

the Daughter of IOHN TYLER [15]
his second Wife,
who was born in JAMES CITY
the 30th Jany 1744, and died
of the Small Pox on July the 23rd 1781
which she endured with the greatest
Christian Fortitude & Resignation.

Here Lyeth
Edward Dyer
Who died OcTr
ye 6 1722 agd
1 Year & 7 Mo
ye Only Son of
Rob Dyer &
Martha his
Wife

In the adjoining grave lies deposited
with her husband whatever was mortal of
JEAN BLAIR,
who was born 26th Octr 1736, O. S.
and died 22nd Novr 1792.
Her conduct through life was truly exemplary and amiable in discharging all the relative duties of her station as a wife, a mother and a friend; and her piety shone forth with peculiar lustre during a protracted, painful, and distressing illness, which she sustained without a murmur, with entire resignation and acknowledgments of the divine mercy and goodness; and fervent prayers to be released, and, resign her spirit to GOD who gave it.
Here lies interred
the body of JAMES BLAIR
son of the Honble John Blair [16]

---

[15] Marshal of the Colony and grandfather of President John Tyler.—ED.

[16] John Blair, son of Dr. Archibald Blair, and nephew of Rev. James Blair, D. D., President of William and Mary College; member of the House of Burgesses in 1736; long a member of the Council, of which

a youth distinguished for the uniform purity
of his morals, accompanied with ingenuous modesty
and the most winning mildness of temper and manners.
He was born the 9th of June 1770
and died the 25th of Octr 1791.

SACRED to the memory of
JANE, the youngest daughter of
the Honble John Blair,
and beloved wife of James Henderson.[17]
Mournful and with tears, he hath erected
this last gift of love and conjugal affection.
She died 19th Decr 1800.
Aged 40 years.
Having been distinguished for her piety
affection, prudence, and suavity of manners.
At her feet are deposited the bodies
of her three infant children.
James Blair, born 29th Oct 1795,
and lived only 21 days.
John Blair, born 25th Feby 1797
and died 17th April following, and
Blair Munroe, born 30th July, 1800
and died 4th May 1801.

[ARMS][18]
Here Lyeth the Body of
COLONEL DAVID BRAY
of this Parish

---

as President, he was acting Governor of Virginia for a time in 1758. His son, Archibald Blair, was Secretary of the Virginia Convention of 1776; and another son, John Blair, a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. A daughter, Jane, was the first wife of James Henderson.—ED.

[17] James Henderson married secondly ———, and had issue: 1. James; 2. Walter; 3. Elizabeth. He died in 1818, and William Brown and Alexander Brown were his executors.—ED.

[18] Az. a chevron between three eagles' legs erased a la cuisse sa. armed gu. *Crest*—An ounce ppr.—ED.

who died on y^e 21 of Oct^r 1717
in the 52^d Year of His Age
and Left
his Wife JUDITH & Son DAVID BRAY
by whom this Monument was Erected
in Memory of Him
Under this tomb with her husband
Lieth M^rs JUDITH BRAY who
Departed this Life the 26 Day
of October MDCCXX in the
45^th Year of her Age.[19]

[ARMS]
Here Lyeth In . .
of IAMES BR . .
AS BRAY by whom
this Monument was Erected

JAMES BRAY
1690

Another *Bray* monument—marble pyramidal shaft on a marble die, the latter having handsome armorial bearings on two sides and Latin inscriptions on the other two.[20]

---

[19] James[1] Bray was the first of the name in Virginia of whom record is preserved. He was living in James City county in 1666; was sworn a member of the Council March 4, 1674–'5; married Angelica ———, and had issue: 1. Thomas;[2] 2. James,[2] J. P. of James City county, 1710, and later; vestryman of Bruton parish; sheriff, 1717–'18; married in or before 1698 Mourning, widow of Colonel Thomas Pettus. He had (with, perhaps other issue) a son, Thomas,[3] J. P. of James City county, 1738, who had an only child, Elizabeth,[4] who married Colonel Philip Johnson, of King & Queen county, and died in 1675. 3. Colonel David,[2] *supra*, vestryman of Bruton parish, and J. P. of James City county, 1710. He had issue: 1. David,[3] *infra*, born 1699; member of the Council; died 1731; married Elizabeth, daughter of John Page of Gloucester county. 4. Angelica, married Mungo Inglis of Williamsburg, the first Master of the Grammar School, William and Mary College (1693–1719). His descendants intermarried with the Armisteads, Pages and Sheildses.

The widow of Thomas Bray established a scholarship at William and Mary College.—ED.

[20] The arms of Bray with an inescutcheon bearing the Page arms.—ED.

H. S. E.

DAVID BRAY Armiger
Vir
Forma Ingenio Morum Suavitate et Comitate Praetor
Serenissimo Regi GEORGIO Secundo
Conciliis in Virginia constitubus
Tamen ante Munus Susceptum florente Ætate
Morte abreptus.
ELISABETHAM
IOHANNIS PAGE, Arminger[21] Filiam Natu primam
Sibi Matrimonio conjunctam habuit
Mutuo Affectus conjunctissimam.
et sine Prote maerentem reliquit
Octob 5° 1731 Ætat 32
Illa Amoris Conjugalii Extremum Pignus
Hoc Monumentum posuit

Hic Depositum
Quicquid habuit Mortale Elizabetha Bray
Una cum Marito desideratissimo.
Quae languenti morbo consumpta Animam
Resignavit 22° Die Aprilis Anno 1734
Ætatis 32°
Æquanimiter, Fortiter, Pie.

Here lieth the Body of IAMES WHALEY
of Yorke County in Virginia who
departed this life the 16 day of May
Anno Domini 1701 and in the fiftieth
yeare of his Age
His Body lyes to be Consumed to Dust
Till the Resurrection of the Just
Amongst Which Number He'll in hopes Appeare
His blessed Sentence at doomsday to heare

[21] Errors in cutting.

[22] MATHEW WHALEY lyes Interred here
Within this Tomb upon his FATHER dear.
Who Departed
this Life the 26th of
September 1705 Aged
Nine years only child
of IAMES WHALEY
and MARY his wife

Fragment of *Colonel John Page's* tombstone, lying near the west door of Bruton Parish church, within the building.

[ARMS] [23]

Here lieth in hope of a Joyfull Resurrection
the Body of Colonel IOHN PAGE of
Bruton Parish Esquire one of their
Majesties Council in the Dominion
[of] Virginia w o Departed this
[life t]he 23 of [Ja]nuary in the year
[of our] Lord 69½ Aged 65

Wife of Colonel John Page.

[ARMS] [24]

Here lyeth the Body of ALICE PAGE
wife to IOHN PAGE of ye county of York
in Virginia aged 73 yeares who
departed this life the 22 day of june
Anno Domini 1698

---

[22] Square piece of marble on the front face of the monument.

[23] Arms: Ar., a fesse dancette between three martlets; azure, a bordure of the last. *Crest:* A demi-horse forcene (rearing).—ED.

[24] Colonel John Page married, about 1656, Alice Luckin, of county Essex, England. In the "Page Family of Virginia," by Dr. R. C. M. Page, New York, 1883, it is stated (p. 41) that the arms on this tomb were those of Luckin: Sable, a fesse indented between two leopard's faces or. *Crest*—A demi-griffin or., issuing out of a tower paly of six of the last and sable.—ED.

[ARMS]

Here lieth in hope of a Joyfull Resurrection
the Body of Captain FRANCIS PAGE of
Bruton Parish in the Dominion of Virginia
Eldest Son of Colonel IOHN PAGE of the
Same Parish, Esquire, Who Departed
this life the tenth Day of May
in the Year of our Lord
1692: Aged 35
Thou wast while living of Unspotted Fame
Now being Dead, no man Dares Soil thy name
For thou wast One whom Nothing here Could Stain
ither Force of honour nor Love of Gain
spheres thou hast well Discharg'd thy trust
most truly Pious, Loyal Iust
stant Goodness my Penn Cannt Express
Vertues my tongue Cannt Rehearse
steem'd by all the wise and Sage
thy country in thy age
we Cannt Now Speak of the
eet to all Posterity
Did to Yoursef Create
erlasting Date
your most happy wife
other Life

[ARMS][25]

Here lieth in the hope of a Joyfull Resurrection
the body of MARY, the wife of Captain
FRANCIS PAGE of Bruton Parish in
the Dominion of Virginia, Daughter of
EDWARD DIGGS of Hampton Parish in
the Same Dominion, Esquire who Departed
this life the Eighteenth Day of March in
the year of Our Lord 169⁰, Aged 3[2?]

---

[25] The editor has no information as to these arms, whether of Page alone or impaled with those of Digges. The latter are: Gu. on a cross ar., five eagles displayed sa. armed of the field.—ED.

Thy Modest, meek and Pious Soule did Shine
With well-Tempered Nature and Grace Divine
One to Excell in beauty few Could Finde
yet thy Rarest Features were of the minde
thou wast a Faithful and Vertuous wife
thou Greatly Loved peace and hated strife
thou wast a prudent and tender Mother
a true-loving sister to Each Brother
a Choice Friend a Kind Nighbour
a good Christian ready at God's call
thou lived and dy'd upon Christ Relying
thou Dy'd to Sin and now Livest by Dying
thy Faith Doth yield thy Piety Doth Give
Restoratives to make thee Ever live
thrice blest Friend this Epitaph is thy due
when Saints arise thy Lord will say 'tis true.

[ARMS]

Here lyeth the body of ELIZABETH PAGE dec^{d}
late wife to IOHN PAGE of Yorke [co]unty Gent.
and Daughter of [C]ap^{t} FRANCIS PAGE late of the
same County deceased she blest her sa[id]
Husband w[ith] A Sonn and Daughter & departed
this life the 12 day of November Anno Dom 1702
And in the 20 yeare of her age.

MURAL TABLETS IN CHRIST'S CHURCH.

MDLCCLII
Inscribed to the Memory of
Doctor WILLIAM COCKE,
An English Physician, Born of reputable Parents
MDCLXXII
at Sudbury in SUFFOLK,
and Educated at Queen's College, CAMBRIDGE,
He was learned and polite,

of indisputed Skill in his profession,
of unbounded Generosity in his practice:
which multitudes, yet alive, can testify.
He was, many years, of the Council
and Secretary of State, for this Colony
In the Reign of QUEEN ANNE & of KING GEORGE
He died Suddenly, sitting a Judge upon the Bench
of the General Court in the Capitol:
MDCCXX
His Hon: Friend ALEX[a] SPOTSWOOD, Esq[r] then Gov[r]
with the principal Gentlemen of the Country,
attended his Funeral,
and, weeping, saw the Corps Interred
at the West side of the Alter,
in this Church.[26]

MURAL TABLET TO HON. DANIEL PARKE.

Near this Marble Lyes
y[e] HON[ble] DANIEL PARKE
of y[e] County of Essex Esq who
was one of his Ma:[ties] Counsellers
and some time Secretary of the
Collony of Virg:[a] he Died y[e] 6[th] of
March Anno 1679
His other Felicityes ware Crowned by
his happy Marridg with REBBECKA
the Daughter of GEORGE EVELYN
of the County of Surry Esq she dyed

---

[26] Dr. Cocke married Elizabeth, sister of Mark Catesby, the naturalist, and had issue, whose descendants include the names of Archer, Battaile, Buckner, Dudley, Gregory, Hansford, Holliday, Jones, Laughlin, Montgomery, Taliaferro, Taylor, Washington and others. His widow married secondly Colonel John Holloway, an eminent lawyer of Williamsburg, Virginia. She died March 4, 1755, aged 74 years.—ED.

the 2d of Ianuary Anno 1672 at Long
Ditton in ye County of Surry and
left behind her a most
hopefull progeny [27]

Stone on the Floor of the Church near East Door.

Here lies in hope of a Blessed Resurrection
the Body of Mr ORLANDO IONES Son of M
ROWLAND IONES, some time Minister of
this Parish. he was born December ye 31st 1681
and Died Iune ye 12th 1719 in ye 38th year of his
Age. he was twice Married his first Wife wa[s]
Mrs MARTHA MACON [28] Daughter of Mr GIDEON
MACON of New-Kent by whom he left one
Son Named LANE & one Daughter Named
FRANCES, his Second Wife was Mrs MARY
WILLIAMS, Daughter of IAMES WILLIAMS
of King & Queen County, who Erected this
Monument to his Memory.

---

[27] Colonel Daniel Parke had issue: two daughters—Francis, who married John Custis; and Lucy, the first wife of Colonel William Byrd of "Westover," the second of the name. Colonel Parke went to England, where he was appointed an aid-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough; was with him at the battle of Blenheim, and was selected to convey the news of that memorable victory to Queen Anne. He was subsequently appointed Governor of the Leward Islands, and was slain in an insurrection there.—ED.

[28] She was married January 31, 1703; died May 11, 1716, and is buried at the Macon homestead in New Kent county. Her daughter Frances is said to have been the wife of Colonel John Dandridge and the mother of Martha (Dandridge-Custis) Washington. Gideon Macon, by tradition, was at one time the Secretary of Sir William Berkeley. He was for a time an Indian interpreter. The Christian name of his wife was Martha. Colonel John Dandridge died in 1756, aged fifty-six years. His tomb is in St. George's church-yard, Fredericksburg, Virginia.—ED.

MURAL TABLET TO THE TYLERS.

In Memoriam.
HENRY TYLER, SR. & HENRY TYLER, JR.
Vestrymen & Wardens of Bruton
Church & Parish.
JOHN TYLER & ELIZABETH LOW, parents of
JOANNA TYLER-MCKENZIE & JOHN TYLER,
the Marshall of the Colony of Va.:
& ANNE CONTESSE, parents of
JOHN TYLER,
Patriot, Gov'r, Judge of the Admiralty,
Supreme & U. S. Courts of Va.:
& MARY ARMISTEAD,
of Buck-Rowe, parents of
JOHN TYLER,
Student, Visitor, Rector & Chancellor
of Wm. & Mary College:
Gov'r, Member of Congress, Senator,
Vice President & President of the United
States, Member of Confederate Congress:
& LAETITIA CHRISTIAN, parents of
ROBERT TYLER, Poet, Philosopher, States-
man, Gentleman, SAMUEL TYLER, A. B., LL. D.
Chancellor of the State of Va.,
Grandson of the Marshall.
This tablet is erected by some
of their Descendants:
JUNE 1888, A. D.

These are all the inscriptions now to be found in and around Bruton Parish church. No doubt many monuments have been destroyed. Old citizens say that many have disappeared in their day.

Under the church, doubtless, were buried many to whom no stone was erected. Governor Fauquier was buried under the

church, and no monument to him remains. His death and obsequies are described in the *Virginia Gazette* of March 3, 1768, as follows:

"Early this morning, died at the palace, after a tedious illness, which he bore with the greatest patience and fortitude, the Hon. Francis Fauquier, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Colony, over which he has presided near ten years, much to his own honor, and the ease and satisfaction of the inhabitants. He was a gentleman of the most amiable disposition, generous, just and mild, and possessed, in an eminent degree, of all the social virtues. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and died in his 65th year."

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE CHAPEL.

Hoc juxta marmor S. E.
Johannes Randolph, Eques.:
Hujus collegii dulce ornamentum, alumnus:
Insigne praesidium gubernator,
Grande calumen Senator,
Gulielmum patrem generosum,
Mariam ex Ishamorum stirpe.
In agro Northamptoniensi matrem
Praedaris dotibus honestavit,
Filius natu Sextus
Literis humanoribus
Artibusque ingenuis fideliter instructus:
(Illi quippe fuerat tum eruditionis,
Tum doctrinae sitis nunquam explenda.)
Hospitium Graiense concessit,
Quo in domicilio
Studiis unice deditus,
Statim inter legum peritos excelluit,
Togamque induit;
Causis validissimus agendis.
In Patriam
Quam semper habuit charissimam reversus,

Considici
Senatus primam clerici deinde prolventoris
Thesaurarii
Legati ad anglos semel atque iterum missi,
Glocestriae demum curiae judicis primarii,
Vices arduos honestasque sustinuit
Perite, graviter, integre;
Quibus in munus,
Vix parem habuit
Superiorem certe neminem.
Hos omnes quos optime meruit honores
Cum ingenua totius corpori pulchritudo,
Et quidam senatorius decor,
Tum eximium ingenii acumen
Egregie illustravunt.
At Æquitas summi juris expers,
Clientum fidele omnium
Pauperiorum sine mercede patrocinium,
Hospitium sine luxu splendidum,
Veritas sine fuco,
Sine fastu charitas.
Ceteris animi virtutibus
Facile praeluxerunt.
Tandem
Laboribus vigiliisque fractus,
Morboque lentissimi confectus
Cum sibi satis, sed amicus, sed Reip: pavum vixisset,
Susannam
Petri Beverley Armigeri
Filiam natu minimam,
Conjugem delectissimam,
(Ex qua tres filius filiamque inimicam susceperat,)
Sui magno languentem desiderio
Reliquit
Sexto Non: Mar: Anno Dom: 1736–7
Ætat: 44.[29]

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[29] The mural tablet to Sir John Randolph was destroyed in the fire of 1859.

[CROWN]

NORBORNE[30]
BARON DE BOTETOURT
OB. XV OCT:
A: D: MDCCLXX
ÆT: LIII.

COLLEGE GREEN.

Statue to Lord Botetourt.

[Inscription in front.]

The
Right Honourable
Norborne Berkeley
Baron De Botetourt
His Maiesty's
Late Lieutenant; and
Governor General of the
Colony and Dominion
of Virginia.

---

[30] Inscription on the coffin plate of Lord Botetourt. This plate was carried off during the Civil War, and twenty-five or thirty years afterwards found its way back to the College, where it is now carefully preserved.

In addition to Lord Botetourt, the following distinguished men were buried under the College chapel: John Randolph, Attorney-General of the Colony; Peyton Randolph, first President of the Continental Congress; Rt. Rev. James Madison, bishop of Virginia and president of the College; and Chancellor Robert Nelson. No epitaphs are found.

[On right-hand side of die.]

Deeply impress'd with the warmest sense
of gratitude for his excellency the
Right Hon^ble^ Lord Botetourt's prudent
and wise administration, and that the
remembrance of those many public and
social virtues, which so eminently
adorn'd his illustrious character might
be transmitted to latest posterity,
the General Assembly of Virginia
on the XX day of Iuly Ann: Dom: MDCCLXXI
resolved with one united voice, to erect
this statue to his Lordship's memory.
Let wisdom and iustice preside in any country:
the people will rejoice and must be happy.

[On left-hand side of die.]

America! behold your friend!
who, leaving his native country,
declin'd those additional honours, which
were there in store for him, that
he might heal your wounds, and restore
tranquillity and happiness to this
extensive continent: with what zeal
and anxiety he pursued these glorious
objects, Virginia, thus bears her
gratefull testimony

Richard Hayward
London MDCCLXXIII

OLD CHURCH-YARD,

JAMESTOWN.

Fragment of *Lady Frances Berkeley's* tombstone, now at Captain F. Brown's residence on the island. It will be remembered that she always called herself Lady Berkeley, even after she married again.[31]

yeth the Bod
Lady FRANC
KLEY

Fragment of a *Ludwell* Slab, perhaps that of the *Elder Ludwell.*

interred
WELL ES
IS M

The Fragments of *Commissary Blair's* tombstone are scattered through the church-yard. They were deciphered, as follows, by the late Hugh Blair Grigsby:

H. S. E. (Hic sepultus est)
Vir Reverendus et Honorabilis
Jacobus Blair, A. M.
Qui
In Scotia natus
In Academia Edinburgensi nutritus,
Primo Angliam deinde Virginiam
Venit:
Qua Parte Tenarum
Annos LVIII, Evangelii Preconis
LIV, Commissarii

[31] Her maiden name was Culpeper. She was thrice married. Her first husband was Samuel Stephens, her second Sir William Berkeley (by whom she had no issue), and her third Philip Ludwell (Secretary of the Colony, and for some time Governor of North Carolina), by whom she had issue.—Ed.

OLD CHURCH-YARD

JAMESTOWN.

Engraved by Cyrl. Graves, Florida, Missouri, and sold by Capron & Smith, Publishers and Booksellers, Old Corner Book Store, Boston. Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1855, by Cyrl. Graves, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Missouri.

Engraved by Cyrl. Graves, Florida, Missouri, and sold by Capron & Smith, Publishers and Booksellers, Old Corner Book Store, Boston. Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1855, by Cyrl. Graves, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Missouri.

Gulielmi et Mariae praesidis,
e Britanniae Principum
Consilarii
Concillii Praesidis,
Coloniae Prefecti
munera sustinuit:
ornavit
um oris venusti Decus,
ate hilari sine (?) hospitali
munificent
issimo egenis largo.
omnibus corni
superavit.
Collegio bene devioram
fundaverat
ens Bibliothecam suam
id alendum Theologiae studiosum
juventutum pauperiorum instituendam
Testamento legavit
Cal. Maii in die[32]
MDCCXLIII
aetat: LXXXVIII
am desideratissimi
Senis Laudem
is nepotibus commendabunt
pene marmore perenniora.

Fragment of what would seem to be the tombstone of *Sarah Blair*, the wife of the Commissary.

AH
Commissa
of this Parish
M HANNAH H
1670 Married

---

[32] Bishop Meade corrects this to "August," but the learned bishop is wrong. In Perry's collections, we find an official letter from Governor Gooch to the Bishop of London, announcing the death of Commissary Blair as having occurred in April. By recalling the Latin construction so many days before the Calends of May, we shall see that the epitaph is right, as we should naturally expect.

[The editor is enabled to supply in part the epitaph of Mrs. Blair, through the kind and opportune attention of Hon. William F. Spotswood, Petersburg, Virginia, in sending him a clipping from *The Constellation*, September 17, 1835, giving an account of a visit to Jamestown, copied from the *Norfolk Beacon*.]

Memoriae Sacram.
Here lyes in the hope of a Blessed Resurrection
y^e^ Body of Mrs. Sarah Blair, Wife of
Mr. James Blair, Commissary of Virginia
Sometime Minister of this Parish.
She was daughter of
Col. Benjamin and M's Hannah Harrison of
Surry. Born Aug. y^e^ 14^th^ 1678, Married Ja

[Here the inscription was hidden by being imbedded in a tree which had grown about it.]

died May y^e^ 5, 1713 exceeding beloved and
lamented

[Then follows a long Latin inscription, partly concealed by the tree which clasps it. The grave-yard is stated in this account to be about one hundred feet square, and that it enclosed a portion only of tombs near the church. In one corner of the yard was the tomb of William Lee of "Greenspring," who died June 27, 1795, aged fifty-eight years.]

HERE Lyeth [the]
Body of [the Rev.]
IOHN GOUGH [late Minister]
of THIS PLACE WHO [departed]
THIS LIFE [January 15^th^ 168¾]
And WAITETH [in hopes]
A IOYFULL RES[urrection][33]

[33] Restored from Bishop Meade's "Old Churches and Families of Virginia" (I, p. 113).—ED.

[H]ere Lyeth WILLIAM [34] SHERWOO[D]
That Was Born in the parish
of White Chappell Near
London. A Great Sinner
Waiting For a Ioyfull
Resurrection

Under this Stone lies interred
The Body of
Mrs HANNAH LUDWELL [35]
Relict of
The Hon PHILIP LUDWELL Esq
By whom She has left
One SON and Two DAUGHTERS
After a most Exemplary Life
Spent in chearful Innocence
And The continual Exercise of
Piety CHarity and Hospitality
She Patiently Submitted
Death on the 4th Day of April 1731 in the 52d
Year of Her Age

Here lyeth the Body of
Mary the Wife of IOHN
KNIGHT who departed
this life Febr^{y} 11th 1732-3 in
the 59th Year of her Age
Waiting for a Ioyfull
Resurrection

John Ambler,[36] Esquire, Barrister-at-Law,
Representative in the Assembly for
Jamestown, and Collector of the District

---

[34] William Sherwood, the famous lawyer.

[35] She was the daughter of Benjamin Harrison of "Wakefield."—ED.

[36] The tombstone of John Ambler has been destroyed. This is an approximately correct copy of the inscription which it bore. [It may be assumed that the stone bore arms. On the monument to John

of York River, in this Province.
He was born the 31st of December, 1735,
and died at Barbadoes, 27th of May, 1766.
In the relative and social duties—as a
son, and a brother and a friend—few
equalled him, and none excelled him.
He was early distinguished by his love
of letters, which he improved at Cambridge
and the Temple, and well knew how to adorn
a manly sense with all the elegance of lan-
guage. To an extensive knowledge of
men and things he joined the noblest sen-
timents of liberty, and in his own exam-
ple held up to the world the most stri-
king picture of the amiableness of reli-
gion.

II.

TRAVIS BURYING-GROUND,

ON

JAMESTOWN ISLAND.

Here lyeth the Body of Edward Travis
who departed this life the 12th day of
November in the year of our Lord 1700

Ambler in Shockoe Hill Cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, born April 25, 1762; and died April 8, 1836, the arms of Ambler are quartered with those of Jaquelin: Ambler—sa. on a fesse or. between three pheons ar. a lion passant guard, gu. *Crest*—Two dexter hands conjoined sustaining a mural coronet.—Ed.]

TRAVIS BURYING-GROUND.

[ARMS][37]

Here lyeth in the hope of A glorious Resurrection
the body of John Champion who was borne
the 10th day of Novembr in the yeare of our
Lord 1660 and departed this life the 16th
day of December in the year of our Lord
1700
And likewise John Champion the son of Iohn
Champion who was borne the 11th day of Decr
in the yeare of our Lord 1695 and departed
this life the 11th day of September in the yeare
of our Lord 1700

Susanna TRAVIS wife of
EDWARD CHAMPION TRAVIS and
Daughter of John Hutchings
of the Borough of NORFOLK Mercht
and Amy his Wife who Departed
this life October the 28: 1761 in the
33rd Year of her Age much Lamented
by all her Acquaintance
And leaving Issue three Sons and
one Daughter

Nigh this Place are also Interred
The Following Children of the said
Edward and Susannah his wife
Elizabeth who was born August
24th 1748 and Died September 22nd 1749
AMY who was born October 9th 1752
and Died October 2nd 1755
John who was Born December 9th 1755
and Died November 25th 1759.

---

[37] Burke ("General Armory") gives no less than ten different coats of arms as of Champion. Champion Travis was a member of the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and 1776, from Jamestown.—ED.

III.

GREENSPRING.

Here lyeth y^e^ body of Eliz. Drummond[38]
who departed this Life y^e^ 2^d^ day of
Iune Anno Dmi 1699 Aetatis (suae) 28

IV.

CUSTIS BURYING-GROUND,

ON

WALLER'S FARM, YORK COUNTY.

Here lyeth the Body of Daniel
Park Custis, son of Col^o^
Daniel Park Custis of New
Kent County who Departed this Life
on the 19^th^ February 1754
Aged two years and three
Months

Under this Stone lies interred
the Body of Frances Park
Custis daughter of Daniel Park
Custis Esq^r^ and Martha his wife Born
April 12 1753 Dyed April 1 1757
Aged 4 Years[39]

[38] Perhaps the daughter of the famous William Drummond [who was executed by Governor Sir William Berkeley for participation in "Bacon's Rebellion."—ED.]

[39] Children of Martha Washington's first marriage.

III.

CREEK SPRING.

IV.

CUSTIS BURYING-GROUND.

Here lies the Body of M^rs^
Frances Custis,[40] daughter of Daniel Park Esq
who departed this Life March the
14^th^ $17\frac{4}{5}$ in the 29^th^ year
of her Age.

V.

TRAVIS'S POINT.

Here Lyes Interr'd the Body of
Anna Maria Timson Daughter
of John and Elizabeth Timson
who was born December the 17^th^ day
1732 and Departed this Life July the 23^d^
1734
Also the Body of William Timson
son of John and Elizabeth Timson
who was born October the 21^st^ day
1734 and Departed this life July
the 23^rd^ 1736.
Here Lyes Interr'd the Body of
Mrs Elizabeth Timson, wife of
Mr. John Timson who Departed
this Life August the 26^th^ 1735 (?) in
the 22^nd^ year of her age.

Here Lyeth inter of a
j Resurrection the Body of
Will^m^ Timson one of his Majestys
Justices of the Peace in y^e^ Colony
of Virginia who
May y^e^ 3^rd^ 1678, and Died in
year of our Lord $175\frac{8}{9}$ A
year of his age

[40] Widow of John Custis, who was appointed to the Council in 1705, and died about Jan., $17\frac{3}{4}$.—Ed.

Here lyeth the Body of
Mr. Samuell Timson March^{t} who
Departed this Life in January y^{e}
23^{d} 1694

Here also lies Inter^{d} y^{e} Bod^{y}
of M^{rs} Mary Timson late wife
of M^{r} Samuell Timson who
Departed this life Oct^{br} y^{e} 10th
1702

FRAGMENT OF A THORNTON SLAB.

Interred . . . of . . . . . Thornton
. . . . . ohn Thornton . . . . parted
this life . . . August 1760 . . . 76(?)
year of her age.

VI.

YORK-HAMPTON.

[ARMS][41]

Hic jacet, spe certe resurgendi in Christo,
THOMAS NELSON, Generosis, Filius
Hugonis et Sariae Nelson de Penrith,
in Comitatu Cumbriae, natus 20mo
die Februarii Anno Domini 1677,
vitae bone gestae finem implevit
7 mo die Octobris 1745, aetatis
suae 68.

---

[41] Nelson arms: Per pale, argent and sable, a chevron between three fleur de lis counterchanged. *Crest*—A fleur de lis.—ED.

[ARMS]

Here lies the body of the Hon. William Nelson, late president of his Majesty's council in this Dominion, in whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other, and so invigorated the mental powers in general, as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his age and country, but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he most excelled; whether in the tender and endearing accomplishments of domestic life, or in the more arduous duties of a wider circuit; whether as a neighbor, gentleman, or a magistrate; whether in the graces of hospitality, charity, or piety. Reader, if you feel the spirit of that exalted ardor which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue, animated by those stimulating and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man. Obit 19th of Nov. Anno Domini 1772, aetatis 61.[42]

Here lieth the Body
of Mrs MARY GIBBONS
who departed this Life
the 22d of Septr 1792
Aged 75 Years
With a Character unblemishe'd
She pass'd thro Life
A tender parent
And affectionate wife

Here lieth interred the
Body of MARY SANSUM
Who departed this life
the 23: of October 1785
Aged 23 Years.

---

[42] The above is taken almost exactly from Howe's History of Virginia. Bishop Meade (I, p. 214) has some slight differences.

[ARMS]
[43] Underneath this Marble lies the Body of
MILDRED JAMESON:
Wife of DAVID JAMESON:[44]
and Daughter of
EDMUND and AGNES SMITH
of York County
She Departed this Life
the 10th Day of December 1778:
in the Forty sixth Year of Her Age.

---

[45] In Memory of
JOHN TURNER
who departed this Life
October the 13th
in the Year of our LORD
1781
Aged 30 Years.
Ah cruel ball so sudden to disarm
And tare my tender husband
from my Arms
How can I grieve too much
what time shall end
By mourning for so good
so dear a friend.

[ARMS][46]
MAIOR WILLIAM GOOCH OF [T]HIS[47]
[Parish]
DYED OCTOB 29 1655

---

[43] Lying by itself in the corner of a field on Temple Farm.

[44] David Jameson served as a member of the Virginia Council and in other positions of trust during the Revolution.—ED.]

[45] A fugitive stone lying in Temple Farm. Place of grave is unknown.

[46] Gooch arms: Per pale, ar. and sa. a chevron between three talbots pass. counterchanged; on a chief gu. as many leopards' heads ar. *Crest*—A talbot pass, per pale, ar. and sa. *Motto*—Fide et virtute. The inscription is restored from a copy made before the mutilation of the stone. It was originally within the enclosed Temple burying-ground which was in area about twenty-five by forty feet.—ED.]

[47] Mutilated by relic-hunters. See *Century* for October, 1881.

Within this tomb there doth interred
[Lie]
No shape but substance true [nobility]
Itself though young in years just t[wenty]
[nine]
Yet grac'd with vertues morall and [divine]
The church from him did good par[ticipate]
In counsell rare fit to adorn a s[tate]

Underneath this Stone
are deposited the Remains of the Late
John Henry of Richmond in Virginia
A Citizen of America born at Janview
near Castledaersor in Ireland on the 11 Nov
1761
who departed this Life on the 21 Aug
1807. by his death his Brothers and Sisters
have to lament the loss of the most affec-
tionate of Brothers his Country A useful
member of the Commonwealth and his
Acquaintance a much valued friend

This Stone was placed here by James Henry
of Fairview as a small tribute
of Gratitude to the Memory of
the most disinterested and affectionate
of Brothers.

VII.

KING'S CREEK.

[ARMS]

[48] Here lieth interred the Body of M[r] Joseph
Ring of the county of York in y[e] Collony of
Virginia Gent who departed this life the 26[th]
day of February Anno Dom 170⅔ in the 57
Yeare of his Age.

---

[48] These three Ring monuments are found on the east side of King's Creek, at a place called Ringfield.

[ARMS]

Here lyeth y^e^ Body of Edmund Ring
son of Joseph and Sarah Ring who
departed this Life y^e^ 13^th^ day of Septem^r^
Ano Dom 1703 in the Eleventh
yeare of his age.

Here lyeth y^e^ Body of Isaack Ring
son of Joseph & Sarah Ring who
departed this life y^e^ 24^th^ of Septem^r^
Ann^o^ Dom 1701 in y^e^ Eighth
yeare of his Age.

Tombstone of Colonel *Nathaniel Bacon, Sr.*, now in the same lot with the *Ring* slabs, but found years ago in the Glebe field on the same farm, and probably removed from his farm on the other side of the creek.

[ARMS][49]

Here lieth interred y^e^ body of Nathaniel
Bacon Esq whose descent was from the
Ancient House of y^e^ Bacons (one of whom was
Chancellor Bacon & Lord Verulam) who was
Auditor of Virginia & President of y^e^ Honourable
Councell of State & Commander in chief for the
County of York, having been of the Councell
for above 40 years & having always discharged
y^e^ office in which he served with great
Fidelity and Loyalty to his Prince, who departed
this life y^e^ 16 of March 1692 in y^e^ 73^d^
year of his Age.

---

[49] The arms are quartered with others. First and fourth Bacon: Gu. on a chief ar., two mullets purced sa. Second and third: Ar. two bars, a bend. *Crest*—A boar passant ermine. The grave was opened in the summer of 1850 by Rev. Henry Stafford Osborn, D. D., and portions of the skeleton and coffin were found preserved. The slab is of blue slate, four inches in thickness, and dimensions three and one-half by six feet.—ED.

Tombstone of *Elizabeth*, wife of the Hon. *Nathaniel Bacon*. This slab is now in the church-yard of St. Paul's Church, Norfolk, Virginia, but was originally on the west side of King's Creek.

[ARMS] [50]

Here lyeth the Body of
ELIZABETH wife to the
Honorable NATHANIEL
BACON, Esq^r who departed
this Life the Second Day of
November one Thousand
Six Hundred Ninety one in
the Sixty Seventh Yeare
of her age.

[ARMS]

In memory of M^r James [51]
Burwell Son of Maj^r Lewis
Burwell who Departed
this Life October y^e 6^th 1718
in y^e 29^th year of His Age.

---

[50] I have been informed that the arms of Kingsmill probably, she being the daughter of Richard Kingsmill, are impaled with others, not those of Bacon, but no drawing has been furnished me.—ED.

[51] Slab found on west side of the creek. The ancient name of the plantation was Utimaria, named in honor of Captain John Utie, of the Colonial Council, and Mary his wife. It was afterwards the residence of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon, Sr., by whom it was devised to Major Lewis Burwell,

[The Burwell arms are: A cross saltier between four eagles' heads erased. *Crest*—An eagle's head with a branch in its beak, above an esquire's helmet.—ED.]

VIII.

HICKORY NECK CHURCH,

James City County.

---

[52] Here lies the body of
Laurence Taliaferro Son of
Colonel John Taliaferro
of Snow Creek in Spotsylvania County
who Departed this Life the First day
of May 1748 in the Twenty-Seventh
Year of his Age
He Married Susanna Power
Daughter of Major Henry Power
of James City County, and left Issue
by her one Daughter.

---

[52] Here lies Interr'd the Body of
Colonel John Taliaferro
of Snow Creek in y^e^ County of Spotsylvania
who Departed this Life the Third
Day of May Anno Domini
one Thousand Seven Hundred & Forty
Four in the Fifty Seventh Year
of his Age.
He left Issue two Sons
and three Daughters

---

[52] These two slabs above are so fresh and so well preserved in the midst of ruins and decay, that one is forced to the conclusion that they are not near so old as their dates would indicate.

VIII

HICKORY NECK CHURCH

IX.

BELLFIELD.

S

To the memory of
Edward Digges Esq
sonne of Dudley Digges of Chilham in
Kent Kn^t & Bar^t
Master of the Rolls in the reign of
K. Charles the First.
He departed this life 15^th of March 167$\frac{4}{5}$
in the LV year of his age, one of his
Mag^ty Councill for this his Collony of
Virginia
A gentleman of most commendable parts
and Ingenuity, the only introducer and
promoter of the SILK Manufacture
in this Colonie, And in every
thing else a pattern worthy of all
Pious Imitation. He had issue
6 sonne^s and 7 daughters by the
body of ELIZABETH his wife who of
her Conjugal affection hath
dedicated to him this Memorial.[53]

[ARMS]
Sub hoc marmore Requiesct in Pace
Dudleius Digges Armiger
Susannae Digges Juxta Depositae Maritus

[53] He was appointed a member of the Council November 22, 1654, and was elected by the Assembly Governor of Virginia March 30, 1655, to succeed Richard Bennet, and served until March 13, 1658, when he was sent to England as one of the agents of the Colony. Several of his sons were prominent in the affairs of the Colony, one of them (Dudley) being long a member of the Council, as was his grandson, Cole Digges—ED.

Amantissimus
Vir et Virtute et Pro sapia vere Inclytus
Qui hujusce Coloniae
Primo Consiliarii Dein ad Auditoris
Dignitatem erectus est.
Obiit omnibus desideratus XVIII Jan.
Anno Dom MDCCX
Ætat Suae XLV
Justorum Animae in Manu Dei sunt.[54]

This Monument was Erected
by Colonel Edward Digges to y^e^
Memory of a most indulgent Father
the Hon^ble^ Cole Digges Esquire
who having been many Years one
of his Majestys Honor^ble^ Council for this
Colony sometime President of y^e^ same
Died in the LII^d^ Year of his Age
in the Year of our Lord MDCCXLIV.

Digges ever to Extremes untaught to bend
Enjoying Life yet mindful of his end
In thee the World an happy meeting saw
of sprightly humour and religious awe.
Chearful not wild, facetious yet not mad
Tho grave not sour though serious never sad
Mirth came not called to banish from within
Intruding pangs of unrepented sin.
And thy religion was no Studied Art
To varnish guilt but purify the Heart
What less then a felicity most rare
Need spring from such a temper & such care
Now in the city taking great delight
To vote new laws or old interpret right
Now crowds & Business quitting to receive

---

[54] Dudley Digges married Susanna, daughter of William Cole of Denbigh, born 1674, died 1708. The Cole arms are: Ar. a cross lozengy. *Crest*—Out of a coronet a dexter hand holding a rod entwined with two serpents.—Ed.

The joys content in Solitude can give
With equal praise then shone among the great
And graced the humble pleasures of Retreat
Displayed thy Dignity in every Scene
And tempted or betrayed to nothing mean
Whate'er of thee was mean beneath it lies,
The rest unstained is claimed by the skies.

Hic Subtus inhumatum Corpus
Susannae Digges Filiae Gulielmi
Cole Armigeri
Nec Non Dudlei Digges
Armigeri
Conjugis Fidelissimae Quae ex hoc
Vita decessit IX° Kal Decembr Anno
Salutis MDCCVIII Ætatis suae XXXIV.

X.

Carter's Grove and Martin's Hundred.

---

[55] Here Lies
the Body of
Mrs. Susanna Burwell,
Wife of
Nathaniel Burwell Esqr
and daughter of
Philip and Mary Grymes
of Brandon,
in the county of Middlesex.
She departed this Life
on the 24th of July 1788
in the 37th Year of her Age.

---

[55] Carter's Grove.

[56] Here Lies
the Body of
Lewis Burwell
fourth Son of
Nathaniel & Susanna Burwell.
He was born
of January
17
and died

---

[57] Here Lies
The Body of
William Burwell,
fifth Son of
Nathaniel & Susanna Burwell.
He was born
on the 14th of July
1782
and died
on the 2nd of October,
in the same Year.

---

[58] Here Lieth in the hope of a joyful
Resurrection, the body of
Samuel Pond of Martin's
Hundred, parish, in james
City County, in the Dominion
of Virginia, Physician.
Departed this life the 26th of
october in the year of our
Lord 1694, aged 48.

---

[56] Carter's Grove.

[57] Carter's Grove.

[58] Martin's Hundred. This stone is in such unusually good order, that it is probably not so old by far as its date would indicate.

XI.

NOT CLASSIFIED.

BURYING-GROUND ON CARR'S HILL.

Here lies in hopes of a Joyful
Resurrection the Body of Mrs Annabel
the Wife of Benjamin Powell Esq.
of Yorke County who departed this
Life the 4th of January 1782
in the 50th
Year of her Age.

---

[59] In Memory of Judith wife of
Mr Jacob Bruce, who Died Jan.
31, 1763 Aged 27 Years.

SUSANNA,[60]
Wife of Hamlin Wilcox,
and Daughter of Colo. James Shields of
York County Virginia.
Died Feby 27, 1857, in the 68 year of her age.
A mother to the motherless and a friend to the friendless.

EUGENIA,
Daughter of
James M. & Mary A. S. Wilcox,
and granddaughter of the above Susanna Wilcox,
Born Nov. 15, 1857, Died June 27, 1858.

---

[59] Slab found at Mr. Whitaker Lee's, in James City county.

[60] This tombstone does not come strictly within the province of this paper, but it is included for two reasons: First, it is found at the old Chickahominy church, which ought to be identified in as many ways as possible; Second, it connects this generation with Colonel James Shields, a prominent character of the closing era of the eighteenth century.

THE
First Election of Washington
TO THE
House of Burgesses.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1891,

BY

MR. R. T. BARTON, WINCHESTER, VA.

The First Election of Washington

TO THE

House of Burgesses.

Men are generally proved to be great by a happy conjunction of opportunity and fitness. This detracts nothing from their fame, only there are many other men quite as great, to whom the happy conjunction does not occur. Those are the men who are born to blush unseen. But the common events of men's lives are very nearly the same, whether they are great or not. When they are recognized as great, however, we judge them almost wholly by their great deeds, and lose sight of the incidents that prove their common mortality. There is even a prejudice against uncovering the facts that show our idols to have been mortal. The realistic spirit of this age, however, which disregards this prejudice, has a healthy influence, provided it is not inspired by mere iconoclastic rage.

It is in this modified spirit that I have ventured to put together, for this occasion, the results of some investigations made years ago, aided by discoveries made by others more recently, on a subject which has received but little attention from history. I mean the first election of George Washington to the House of Burgesses, the predecessor of the body which sits now in this historic hall.

This election occurred in the year 1758, and Washington's first appearance in the role of statesman was in his capacity as representative for the county of Frederick, of which my own town of Winchester was then, as it is now, the county seat.



In 1758, Frederick county consisted of what is now the territory embraced within the limits of the counties of Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah and Page, in Virginia, and Berkeley, Jefferson and Morgan, in West Virginia, comprising the whole of what is known as "the Lower Valley."

Braddock's defeat on the Monongahela occurred in 1755, and after that Washington, with the rank of colonel, was in command of the Virginia troops at Winchester. In the spring of 1756 he built for the protection of the inhabitants of that town and of the frontier generally, Fort Loudoun, then at the north end of a very straggling village, and through the centre of which the main street of the present town (called from the fort, Loudoun street) now runs; and even at this day the well-defined and greenly sodded bastions of Washington's fort are the playgrounds for the pretty girls of a prosperous female school.

In the summer of 1757, George Washington was one of three candidates for a seat from Frederick county in the House of Burgesses. It has been sometimes said that he was not then really a candidate, but a well preserved local tradition hath it that he was genuinely ambitious to serve the people, but that having opposed the granting of a license to keep an ordinary to one Lindsay, as the records in truth show that he did, the said Lindsay successfully revenged himself by defeating his candidacy. The Lindsays have been ordinary keepers in that town up to within my own recollection, and the tradition of the fight of Lindsay against Washington has ever been a cherished memory in the line of Lindsay.

The opponents of Washington in that contest were Hugh West and Thomas Swearingen, and these two were duly elected. The poll stood as follows:

Hugh West, - - - -	271
Thomas Swearingen,[1] - - -	270
George Washington, - - -	40
Total vote, - - - -	581

[1] Thomas Swearingen was probably an ancestor of Thomas Van Swearingen, a representative in Congress from Virginia from 1819 until his death in 1822.—ED.

On October 4, 1757, the records of the county court show the following entry: "On motion of George Washington, Esq., ordered that his tithables be set on the list," from which it may be inferred that the redoubtable Lindsay may have urged the non-residency of the gallant young colonel as an objection to his election, and in anticipation of another appeal to popular favor he was determined to remove this obstacle to the gratification of his ambition.

In May, 1758, Washington became engaged to be married to the widow Custis, who had worn her weeds a full twelve months, but as he was then just about to start on the second expedition to Fort Duquesne the marriage did not immediately take place, and it was not until the succeeding January that the old church in New Kent county witnessed the brave spectacle of the stalwart warrior as a bridegroom in a suit of blue cloth "lined," says the detailed account, "with red silk and ornamented with silver trimmings, a waistcoat of embroidered white satin, knee-buckles of gold, and powdered hair." That this contemplated marriage had something to do with our hero's so quickly repeated candidacy is a surmise that is not far to seek.

The next election for the House of Burgesses, after Washington's unsuccessful venture, took place on the 24th day of July, 1758, and the poll stood as follows :

Colonel George Washington, - -	310
Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin, - -	240
Hugh West, - - - -	199
Thomas Swearingen, - - -	45
Total vote, - - - -	794

So Washington largely defeated his opponents who the year before had defeated him. It is with this election that we have now to do, and to show the increase in the voting population it is interesting to observe that at the next election, which took place on May 18, 1761, the vote stood as follows :

George Washington, - - -	505
George Mercer,[2] - - - -	399
Adam Stephen,[3] - - - -	294
Total vote, - - - -	1,198

Before considering the incidents of Washington's first election, let us very briefly enquire who were the men who had been thus preferred to Washington, and to whom in turn he was himself preferred?

Of Hugh West no record remains, except that he was thus connected with the name of Washington. He is, perhaps, neither better nor worse off in this respect than many another local light who had shined for a time in this and even much higher places.

Of Thomas Swearingen, who did not make even so good a fight in the last list as did the forgotten West, we find that much more has been preserved.

He lived near what is now Shepherdstown, in the county of Jefferson. The published Acts show that in 1766 the House of Burgesses ordered the privilege of establishing a ferry over the Potomac river, which in 1765 had been accorded to Thomas Shepherd, to be discontinued, because it was "at a very small distance from the lands of Thomas Swearingen on the Potomac river in Maryland."

In May, 1772, Thomas Swearingen was made by Lord Dunmore a Justice of the Peace of Berkeley county, which was in that year cut off from Frederick. He is mentioned in the

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[2] George Mercer (born June 23, 1733) served as lieutenant and captain in the regiment of Washington in the French and Indian War. He went to England in 1763 as the agent of the Ohio Company, of which his father, John Mercer, of Marlboro', Virginia, was secretary; returned to Virginia in 1765 as collector for the Crown under the Stamp Act, but found the measure so obnoxious that he declined to act. Going to England again he was appointed (September 17, 1768), through the influence of Lord Hillsborough, Lieutenant-Governor of North Carolina, but soon relinquished this office. He returned to England prior to the Revolution; and died there in April, 1784.—ED.

[3] Colonel Adam Stephen, who served with Washington in the French and Indian War, and as Brigadier and Major-General in the American Revolution.—ED.

records of the court as one of those appointed to take the tithables, and on August 18, 1772, he figures in the list of Justices of Berkeley county, who, at that term of the court, tried one Richard Lewis for forgery, and he, pleading guilty, was ordered to receive "thirty-nine lashes well laid on upon his bare back." This was the first criminal conviction in the new county.

On November 15, 1772, Thomas Swearingen appears as one of the Justices directing the building of the first court-house of Berkeley county.

These prosaic facts are all that are known of Swearingen, and only saved from the oblivion of commonplaceness by his association with the name of Washington, he sinks finally out of sight just as the star of Washington was about to rise, to shine forever.

Of his colleague in his first service in the House of Burgesses, Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin, much more is known, for he was a somewhat conspicuous figure in the Valley part of the Colony, and even afterwards when it became a State, throughout his whole life. But because so much is known, or may so readily be learned about him, it is necessary to tell but little.

Colonel Martin was a nephew of Lord Fairfax and intimately connected with him in his affairs. He lived at "Greenway Court," and was there when his uncle died—a death hastened, tradition says, by chagrin at the surrender of Cornwallis.

Martin was Colonel of the county militia and a justice of the peace under the old *regime*. In 1776 he was re-appointed by Governor Patrick Henry, but his heart was too much with the cause of George III to permit him to serve under, or to recognize rebel authority. He served one term with Washington in the House of Burgesses, but does not seem to have offered for re-election.

On the death of Lord Fairfax, he became, with Gabriel Jones, one of his uncle's executors. Thenceforth his name figured extensively in the litigation which resulted about Lord Fairfax's estate. The lawyers of the present day even are familiar with the case of Martin's Adm'r *vs.* Tucker, &c., in which the devisees in England of Denny Fairfax, the elder brother of Colonel Martin and of himself, were the plaintiffs.

But we must return now to the main topic of this paper—the election in the summer of 1758.

There was only one precinct in the county, and that was at the court-house at Winchester. To that point the voters had to come to exercise their right of suffrage. Considering the bad roads and the danger of the times, it seems remarkable that as many as seven hundred and ninety-four voters should have come to the poll.

The qualification of a voter was that he should be a freeholder of one hundred (shortly after reduced to fifty) acres of unimproved land, or twenty-five acres with a building thereon at least twelve feet square, or of a lot in a city or town with a similarly pretentious building thereon, provided however, that "no free negro, mulatto, or Indian, altho a freeholder, should be permitted to vote."

The presence of this proviso, so unhappily eliminated now from the law, made wholly unnecessary the shuffling slippery secret ballot system, with its opportunities for box-stuffing, tissue ballots, and fraudulent miscounts, the fruits of a later civilization, but the voter declared his choice openly *viva voce*, without concealment or chance of subsequent false pretences. Nor was the aspirant for popular favor ashamed to openly acknowledge his appreciation of the confidence reposed in him by the elector; but it was the custom of the day for the candidate or his representative, in his necessary absence, to take his seat at the poll, and when the voter called out his name to rise and thank him for the honor done him.

At the election of 1758 the principal public interest was in the effort to obtain regular and sufficient allowances and supplies for the militia and volunteers who for some years had been constantly engaged in the protection of the frontier setttlements. The French war was flagrant, and the French and Indians were a constant menace to the peace and safety of the people of Frederick county. But a short time before the whole country had been overwhelmed by the disastrous defeat of Braddock, and at the very time of this election the forces were gathering again at Fort Cumberland for another move on the same line upon Fort Duquesne.

Washington was not then twenty-six years of age, but his gal-

lant and successful conduct of affairs on the retreat after Braddock's death had given him a military reputation of a high order and a strong hold upon the affections of the people of Frederick, who were nearest to and most interested in those army movements so essential to their safety, although, as we have seen, Colonel Washington's distinguished military services had not been sufficient to overcome the wiles of the subtle Lindsay, who kept an ordinary and sold whiskey to the Colonel's soldiers.

Washington was, of course, acquainted with the principal people of the sparsely settled county, for the construction of the Fort and his command there brought him in constant contact with them, and then besides there were two trading fairs held annually at Winchester, which brought the people up from the outlying settlements and gave occasion to more or less social interchange.

Washington's correspondence at this time shows that he had become wearied with military life and somewhat disgusted with the discriminations made against the Colonial, in favor of the imported British officer, and he had determined at the end of the then pending campaign to retire from the service into private life.

But it is not a strained inference that other considerations than political ambition or a desire to taste once more the sweets of a quiet bucolic life influenced Washington to forego his military aspirations. As we have seen, he had become engaged to the charming widow Custis, and his marriage to her was only awaiting the end of the military campaign. A winter then in the gay Capital at Williamsburg was a delightful way of spending the honeymoon, and it is by no means improbable that the young woman herself suggested a seat in the House of Burgesses as adding something to dignity, making retirement from military service graceful, and, indeed, as being altogether such a nice thing—under the circumstances.

Possibly the habit was begun with Washington's candidacy, and for that reason has been kept up ever since, but the good people of Frederick dislike to award to aspirants for their favor what is known in modern phrase as a "walk-over."

We have seen that the year before the Colonel sustained what may be considered a rather bad defeat. This time, however, he

had the powerful support of Colonel James Wood,[4] the clerk of the county court, and it may be even that the hostile Lindsay had been converted or silenced, but of this tradition saith not. The memory of the oldest inhabitant, however, has handed it down that Colonel James Wood was a good deal of a political "Boss," but the sturdy and honorable character borne by his descendants leave me no room to doubt that he deserved the influence he evidently possessed with the frontier voter.

Colonel Wood appears to have managed without difficulty his own promotion to office, but it was at one time thought that the effort to pull Colonel Washington through would prove too much even for his sagacity and pluck. So anxious, indeed, were the friends of Washington about this election, and so fearful of his defeat, that they importuned the Colonel to leave his military command and come back to the county and see the voters in person. Colonel Bouquet, Washington's immediate military superior, wrote, giving him leave of absence, and on July 19, 1758, Washington replied, thanking him for his courtesy and saying: "Although my being there, under any other circumstances, would be very agreeable to me, yet I can hardly persuade myself to think of being absent from my more immediate duty, even for a few days." And again some days later he wrote: "I had, before Colonel Stephen came to this place, abandoned all thoughts of attending personally the election at Winchester, choosing rather to leave the management of that affair to my friends than be absent from my regiment when there is a probability of its being called to duty. I am much pleased now that I did so."

The letter of congratulation upon the result of the election, preserved in a note to the collection of Mr. Jared Sparks, affords but a meagre glimpse of what actually occurred, but a story, partly tradition and in part history, throws some light upon the opposition to Washington's candidacy. Supposing the offended Lindsay to have been appeased, or his influence at least overweighed by that of Colonel James Wood, it is yet said that Colonel Washington had to overcome the decided opposition of

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[4] He was the father of Colonel James Wood, a patriot of the American Revolution and Governor of Virginia, 1796-'99.—ED.

certain dealers in live stock along the Potomac. When Braddock marched from Alexandria to fort Cumberland he had to tarry at the latter place until he could collect horses enough to pull his wagons in the long and rough expedition that he then contemplated. Certain enterprising speculators undertook to supply this need, and in course of time arrived at the Fort with several hundred horses. It was Washington's duty to inspect them, and when with his fine idea of what an animal ought to be, to do the hard duty which this occasion required of it, he found instead a herd of thin, infirm and aged horses, which had outlived or overworked their usefulness on the Valley farms, he is said to have expressed himself in language the exact meaning of which there could be no sort of difficulty in understanding. The noble band of patriots who had thus undertaken to supply their country's need of horses is said to have borne his remarks and their results in mind when so soon after he offered himself for their suffrages, and to have exhibited their energy and enmity in determined opposition to his election.

It is not at all improbable, therefore, all things considered, that it was more politic for the Colonel to have stayed away from the county, and to have left, as he says, "the management of that affair to my friends." With Colonel Wood for a manager he was probably safer in the line of conciliation than if he had been present in person; for Washington, while he knew well how to keep his tongue in his head, yet when he let it out was disposed to be rather frank.

As we have seen, Colonel Wood sat at the poll as Washington's representative, a very large vote was cast and Washington was triumphantly elected. That night, when the vote was counted, the Winchester boys took Colonel Wood on their shoulders and gave him a vicarious ride for Washington around the town, "in the midst," says a contemporaneous writer, "of a general applause and huzzahing for Colonel Washington."

It is not unlikely that, after the fashion of the day on all occasions of public rejoicing, bon-fires were built, and it is altogether certain that "fire water" was plenty, and a lively party must have waked the echoes of the village on that summer night. For while the gallant Colonel was kept by duty at his military post, he was yet sufficiently alive to the necessities of the occa-

sion to supply the means of conducting his canvass. After the election the bill for its expenses was sent to him and he paid it, after, no doubt, as was his wont, a careful inspection of its items. The bill was £39, 6s. (about $195), and the following were among the items: "A hogshead and a barrel of punch, thirty-five gallons of wine, forty-three gallons of strong cider, and dinner for his friends."

In the "good old times" people were probably no better than they are now, and it is not a little comfort to us of this day and generation to reflect that Washington was himself but a human being, and "stood treat" just like any ordinary candidate for the Legislature finds himself compelled to do sometimes in these so-called degenerate days.

That Frederick county was not an exception in the way of conducting elections on other than strictly temperance principles is shown by the law passed by the House of Burgesses soon after the election of 1758, which provides that no one should be qualified to hold a seat in that house, who should, "before his election, either himself or by any other person or persons on his behalf and at his charge, directly or indirectly give, present or allow any person or persons having voice or vote in such election any money, meat, drink, entertainment or provision, or make any present, gift, reward, or entertainment, &c., &c., in order to be elected."

It is hardly to be supposed that this law was aimed at the worthy delegate from Frederick, but it fit his case so exactly that had it been in force prior to his election he would certainly have been ineligible to his seat. For seven years Washington continued to represent Frederick county, but there is no record of any incident of interest connected with his subsequent elections. As a law-abiding citizen it is to be presumed that thereafter meat and drink, except in the ordinary way of hospitality, were not among the means resorted to by Washington and his friends to secure popular favor.

When the pessimists of to day, justly resenting the ways that are dark which so often prevail in what is known as politics, predict therefrom the speedy downfall of the Republic, it is well to remember how very old these ways are, and from what respecta-

ble antecedents many of them have come, and while not approving them, yet to bear in mind that in spite of them and of very many other imperfections in these institutions of ours, the land continues to flourish the equal in valor and in virtue of any other, and in material prosperity outstripping all the nations of the earth.

R. T. Barton.

THE
OLD BRICK CHURCH,

NEAR

Smithfield, Virginia.

BUILT IN 1632.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1891,

By R. S. THOMAS, A. M., LL.B.,

Smithfield, Virginia.

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH,

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH,

NEAR SMITHFIELD, VIRGINIA.

BUILT IN 1632.

It is my object to prove that this Church was built in 1632, and I shall prove it,

1. By the existence at that early day, of such a strong, religious, sentiment, as demanded a house of worship to the living God.
2. By tradition.
3. By lately existing records; and—
4. By the bricks and mortar of the Church itself.

This last proof is absolutely conclusive, and I might rely on it solely and alone, but, in one or two hundred years hence, its genuineness might be questioned; and hence, whilst priceless records are still extant, and important witnesses still live, it is a matter of the gravest moment, and of the highest duty, to preserve their concurrent testimony.

1st. *The Existence of the Sentiment.*

The existence of a temple to the God to be worshipped proves the belief in that God, for, without a belief in him, there would be no temple for his worship. The stronger, and more enthusiastic, the belief, the surer, and more certain, it is to manifest itself in a house of worship. Did our ancestors, then, bring with them a strong, potent, courageous, belief in the God of Calvary, and a strong evangelical zeal in His behalf?

THE OLD BRICK CHURCH



This question cannot be, correctly, answered, without some slight glance at antecedent history—enough only to arouse thought to action, and to enable you to bring, before yourselves, a mirror of the times.

In 1483, Hans Luther, a German miner, a citizen of the county of Mansfield, a slate-cutter by trade, had born unto him a son, who, displaying uncommon activity of mind, was, by manifold sacrifices of the father, placed at the Latin school of Eisleben in that county. The brightness of the boy, and the ambition of the father that the son should rise above his station in life, induced him to undergo still further privations and hardships, so that he might place the boy in the larger school at Eisnach. Poverty pressed hard on that father and son, and drove the son to go into the streets of Eisnach, and sing songs for alms that he might eke out a miserable existence. God had given him a sweet tenor voice, and that voice fell enchantingly upon the ears of Ursula Cotta, the wife of the burgomaster of Eisnach, who, learning the history of the talented boy, sent him to Urfurst, where, in 1505, he took his master's degree and graduated with distinguished honors.

At Urfurst, the bold and earnest preaching of Weinmann arrested his attention, stung and awakened his conscience, and sent him to a diligent and protracted study of the scriptures.

In 1507, the Elector of Saxony appointed him a professor in the recently (1505) founded university of Wittenburg, which he soon made famous by the severity of studies, the brilliancy of his chair, the perfect mastery of the early fathers of the Church, the profound knowledge of the scriptures, and the burning eloquence of his pulpit.

In 1517, John Tetzel sought to replenish the Papal exchequer by the sale of indulgences, and Martin Luther, shocked at the sale of the mercies of heaven for the money of man, nailed his ninety-five theses to the doors of Castle church, bade defiance to the Pope of Rome, summoned the world to denounce the errors of the Papal Church, and to correct and reform its creed.

The disputations of Luther at Augsburg with Cajetan, and at Leipsic with John Eck, ended with the Diet-at-Worms, Nuremberg and Spires, and the attention of the world was arrested and

centered upon the grandeur of the preacher, and the sublimity of the truths he boldly announced, and bravely defended.

Melancthon, Bucer and Oecolampadius rallied around the hero, and grandly aided in spreading the revived gospel.

Zwingli from the mountain heights of Switzerland, caught a glimpse of the new religion, and held up the torch to Calvin, of France, whose long, subsequent, residence at Geneva banishes from the general recollection his birth and manhood in France, and his ecclesiastical training in the Church of Rome.

John Knox heard the voice of Zwingli and of Calvin, and aroused all Scotland with his stubborn zeal and burning enthusiasm.

The new learning, and the new religion, crossed the Scottish border and the English Channel, and the English champions of the cross kept step with those of Germany, Switzerland, France and Scotland, and Rogers and Hooper, and Farrar and Ridley, and Latimer and Cranmer, in fire and in faggot, attested the divine truths, protested against the enormities of Rome, proclaimed the gospel, that founded in Judea, consecrated on Calvary, hidden in the darkness of the mediæval times, was resurrected by Luther, and proclaimed, anew, to the world by his gathering hosts of enthusiastic followers.

But Clement V, of Rome, did not yield the indulgences, the penances, the annates that supplied the coffers of his Church; the masses that appealed to the imaginations of the multitude; the auricular confessions that made the minister of the flock the priest of the household; the prayers for the dead; the actual corporal presence of God in the wine; and the traditions that hedged about and upheld his Church.

Charles V of Spain the Netherlands Naples and of Austria; Francis I, of France, Philip II, of Spain, Torquemada, Ximenes, the Inquisition, Catherine de Medici, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the reign of Bloody Mary, the persecutions of the Lutherans in Germany, the Huguenots in France, and the Protestants in England, all show the terrible rage of the Church of Rome, and the equally resolute energy of the revived faith to escape from the thraldom that had so long enslaved it, and its grand determination to plant the standards of the cross upon the ramparts of a nobler and a higher religion, that appealed from the

fallibility of man to the infallibility of God, and from a faith in the Pope to a faith in Jesus Christ.

This energy, awakened in England in the time of Henry VIII, intensified in that of Edward VI and Bloody Mary, was powerfully augmented by the two editions of the book of Common Prayer in 1548 and 1552, and the rapid multiplications of the Bible.

The edition of Wickliffe of 1384 had been enlarged and enriched by the editions of Tyndall in 1530 and of Coverdale in 1535, whose labors and sufferings, in poverty and in alien lands, were crowned with such success, that from foreign and from native presses came the editions of 1538, the version of 1539, the Geneva edition of 1560, the Bishop's Bible of 1568, and the authorized version of 1611.

Whilst some of these editions were issuing from the press, Bloody Mary, in 1588, passed from the scenes of life, and Elizabeth ascended the throne of England.

Then Protestantism, bruised, mangled, and burnt, rose from the ground, nobler for its sufferings, and more resolute for its afflictions.

"Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and good will to man," was its pæan, and "Go ye unto all the world and preach my gospel to every creature," was accepted as its divine mission.

Under the influence of these feelings, Christopher Newport, John Smith, Edward Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, George Kendall, and their associates, set sail on the 19th of December, 1606, from Blackwall, England, in the ship *Susan Constant*, of one hundred tons, in charge of Newport with seventy-one men; in the *Godspeed*, of forty tons, in charge of Gosnold, with fifty-two men, and in the pinnance, the *Discovery*, of twenty tons, in charge of Ratcliffe with twenty men, and landed at Jamestown on the 13th of May, 1607, bringing with them the sentiments of Englishmen, the laws of England, the Church of England in its minister, the Rev. Robert Hunt, and their charter, written by Sir Edward Coke and Sir John Doddridge. That charter declares, "their desires for the furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of His divine majesty, in propagating the Christian religion to such

people as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring infidels and savages living in those parts to human civility, and to a settled and quiet government," and the adventurers are instructed "to provide that the true word and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used, not only within every of the said colonies and plantations, but also as much as they may amongst the savage people which do or shall adjoine unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England."

In the second charter of May 23, 1609, written by Sir Francis Bacon and Sir Henry Hobart, it is declared in its 29th article: "And lastly, because the principle effect which we can desire, or expect in this action, is the conversion and seduction of the people in those parts unto the true worship of God and Christian religion, in which respect we should be loath that any person should be permitted to pass that we suspected to effect the superstitions of the Church of Rome; we do hereby declare that it is our will and pleasure that none be permitted to pass in any voyage, from time to time to be made into the said country, but such as shall have taken the oath of supremacy," that the King of England was the head of the Church, and not the Pope of Rome.

Again, in the third charter of March 12, 1611, prepared by the same parties, "the power and authority was given to minister and give the oath and oaths of supremacy and allegiance, or either of them to all and to every person and persons which shall at any time or times hereafter go or pass to the said colony in Virginia."

And they brought with them not only the charter, but a magnificent letter of advice written by the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, historiographer of the East India Company, and the last sentence is in these words: "Lastly and chiefly, the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."[1]

[1] Brown's "Genesis of the United States."

Just as soon as these adventurers landed at Jamestown, they offered up prayer, and extemporized a church, which, Captain Smith informs us, was only an "awning or old sail which we hung to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun; our walls were rails of wood; our seats unhewn trees till we cut planks; our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. In foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by way of advertising for new."

And there, in

"A wild and lonely region, where, retired
From little scenes of art, great Nature dwelt
In ample solitude,"

these men worshipped as primeval man worshipped when

"The groves were God's first temples. E'er man learned
To hew the shaft and lay the architecture,
And spread the roof above them. E'er he framed
The lofty vault to gather and roll back
The sound of anthems; in a darkling wood
Amid the cool and silence he knelt down
And offered the Mightiest, solemn thanks
And supplication."

"Compared with this, how poor's religious pride,
In all the pomp of method and of art,
When mere display to congregations wide,
Devotion's every grace but the heart."

Their next church, Captain Smith informs us, was "a homely thing (the log church) like a barn set in crochets, covered with rafts, sedge and earth, and so were the walls." Others followed, from time to time, as circumstances dictated, until the one was built, the remains of which are still at Jamestown in an utterly abandoned condition.

Captain Smith, describing the habits of the adventurers, says: "First they enter into the church and make their prayers unto God, next they return to their houses and receive their proportion of food." (Vol. II, p. 5, of Smith's History.)

In 1611 they built a "new towne," which they called Henrico

after Prince Henry, "a handsome church, and the foundation of a better laid to be built of bricke," and near it on the other side of the river "a faire framed parsonage" for Master Whitaker.

In building churches they were stimulated not only by the zeal of the individuals and of the nation, but by the injunctions of King James I.

As early as 1617 he addressed a letter to George Abbott, the then Archbishop of Canterbury, in which he said: "You have heard ere this time of the attempt of diverse worthie men an' subjects to plant in Virginia (under the warrant of our Letters-Patent) people of this Kingdom, as well as for enlarging of our Dominion as for the propagating of the Gospel among the Infidels, wherein there is good progress made and hope of further increase; so as the undertakers of that plantation are now in hand with the erecting of some churches and schools for the education of the children of those barbarians, which cannot but be to them a very great charge, and above the expense which for the civil plantation doth come to them. In which we doubt not but that you, and all others who wish well to the increase of Christian Religion, will be willing to give all assistance and furtherance you may, and therein to make experience of the zeal and devotion of our well-minded subjects, especially those of the clergy.

"Wherefore, we do require you, and hereby authorize you, to write your letters to the several Bishops of the Dioceses in your Province, that they do give order to the ministers and other zealous men of their Diocese, both by their own example in contribution, and by exhortation to others, to move our people within their several charges to contribute to so good a work in as liberal a manner as they may, for the better advancing whereof our pleasure is that these collections be made in the particular parishes for several times within these two years next coming; and that the several accounts of each parish, together with the money's collected be returned from time to time to the Bishop of the Dioceses, and by him be transmitted half-yearly to you, and so to be delivered to the Treasurer of the Plantation to be employed for the Godly purposes intended, and no other."

With such sentiments animating king, bishops and people in the mother country and in the Colony, the first legislative assem-

bly held on this continent was convened at Jamestown, in "the Quire of the Church," on Friday, June 30, 1619, and the second sentence in the record is this: "But forasmuche as men's affaires do little prosper where God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their places in the Quire till prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the Minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctifie all our proceedings to his own glory and the good of this plantation."[2]

That assembly enacted "that for laying a surer foundation of the conversion of the Indians to Christian Religion eache town, citty, Burrough and plantation do obtaine unto themselves by just means a certaine number of natives' children, to be educated by them in true religion and civil course of life."

That "all ministers shall duly read devine service, and exercise their ministerial functions, according to the Ecclesiastical laws and orders of the Churche of Englande, and every Sunday, in the afternoon, shall catechise suche as are not yet ripe to come to the communion. And whosoever of them shall be found negligent and faulty in this kinde shall be subject to the censure of the Governor and Counsul of Estate."

That "the Ministers and Church Wardens shall seek to presente all ungodly and disorders, the committees whereof, if upon goode admonitions and mild reprooff they will not forbeare the said skandalous offences, as suspicions of whoredomes, dishonest company, keeping with women, and suche like, they are to be presented and punished accordingly."

That "if any person, after two warnings, does not amende his or her life in point of evident suspicion of Incontincy, or of the commission of any other enormous sinnes, that then he or she be presented by the Church wardens and suspended for a time from the church by the minister. In which Interim, if the same person do not amende and humbly submit him or herself to the churche, he is then fully to be excommunicate, and soon after a writ or warrant to be sent from the Governor for the apprehending of his person ande seizing on all his goods, &c."

That "for reformation of swearing every freeman and M[r]. of a family, after thrife admonition, shall give 5s. or the value

[2] Senate Document, Colonial Records of Virginia, 1874.

upon present demande to the use of the church where he dwelleth ; and every servant, after the like admonition, excepte his M^r^. dischardge the fine, shall be subject to whipping."

That "all persons, whatsoever, upon the Sabbath daye shall frequente devine service and sermons both forenoon and afternoon, and suche as beare armes, shall bring their pieces, swordes, poueder and shotte."

That "against excesse in apparell that every man be cessed in the churche for all publique contributions, if he be unmarried according to his owne apparell, if he be married, according to his owne and his wives, or either of their apparel." [3]

And the very first act in the published statutes of Virginia is:

1st. "That there shall be in every plantation, where the people use to meet for the worship of God, a house or room sequestered for that purpose, and not to be of any temporal use whatsoever, and a place empaled in, sequestered only to the burial of the dead." [4]

Such were a part of the laws relating to religion that were enacted by the very first legislative assembly that ever convened in this country—an assembly that convened seventeen months before the eternally lauded pilgrims ever landed upon Plymouth Rock, and ten years before the Colony of Salem and of Boston increased their meagre numbers beyond one hundred. And yet, the historians of that Colony are forever parading before the world for its worship the names of a Cotton, a Hooker, and an Eliott, who never set foot upon this continent until the Colony at Jamestown had for twenty-seven years blazed the way and taught them wisdom by their sad experience ; who never from Puritanical lips proclaimed the glories of their Maker, until Hunt and Whitaker and Thorpe had laid down their lives as a sacrifice to their duty. The State and the Church that can boast of the evangelical services of a Robert Hunt, Richard Bucke, —— Glover, Greville Poole, William Wickham, Alexander Whitaker, William Mease or Mays, —— Macock, Thomas Bargrave, Robert Paulet, David Sandis, William Bennett, Robert Bolton, Jonas Stockton, Thomas White, Haut Wyatt, —— Hop-

[3] Senate Document, 1874.

[4] Hening, Vol. I, p. 122.

kins, —— Pemberton, William Cotton, and others, who came between 1607 and 1622, animated by as pure a zeal as ever fired the breast of a Peter or a Paul, permits them to rest not only in oblivion, but covered with all the opprobrium that Puritanism can, by direction or indirection, heap upon them—ministers of the Cross of Christ, who by their lives and their speech said as did the brave and undaunted Whitaker, "Why is it that so few of our English ministers that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hither where neither is spoken of. Doe they not wilfully hide their talents, or keep themselves at home for fear of losing a few pleasures; be there not among them of Moses his minde, and of the Apostles, that forsook all to follow Christ. But I refer them to the Judge of all hearts and to the King that shall reward everyone according to his talent." "Awake you true-hearted Englishmen, you Servant of Jesus Christ, remember that the plantation is God's and the reward your countries. . . . And you, my brethren, my fellow labourers, send up earnest prayers to God for his Church in Virginia, that since his harvest heere is great, but the labourers few he would thrust forth his labourers into his harvest: and pray also for me, that the ministration of his Gospel may be powerfull and effectuall by me to the salvation of many, and to the advancement of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father, and the holy Spirit, bee all honour and glorie forever more, Amen."

Such were the sentiments that animated the missionaries of the early church, whom it is now fashionable to deride, and whose true Christian zeal is aspersed by the Puritans of the North, who, as early as 1629 shipped John Morton[5] and John and Samuel Brown[6] back to England for no crime save that of eating Christmas pies and using the book of Common Prayer; who, in 1630, took away the citizenship of the Rev. William Bloxton,[7] and compelled him to sell his property at an enormous sacrifice and move away because he was a minister of the Church of England; who, by 1680, had exiled every Episcopal minister

[5] McConnell's Hist. of American Episcopal Church, p, 36.

[6] Bancroft's History of the United States., p. 349.

[7] McConnell, p. 39.

in all New England but one—old Father Jordan, who was too poor and too "broken in fortune and in spirit to move;"[8] who in 1644, in the very depths of winter, drove Roger Williams[9] from his church in Salem, through the ice and snows of Massachusetts, to the Indian wilderness of Rhode Island, so that he did not "for fourteen weeks know what bed or bread did mean," and "had no house but a hollow tree;" who, in 1657, exiled Ann Breden, and whipped, imprisoned and mutilated her companions by slitting first one ear, then the other, and then "bored their tongues with red hot irons;" who, in 1659, imprisoned Wenlock Christison and twenty-seven of his companions, and rounded the catatogue of crimes by hanging Marmaduke Stephenson, William Robinson, William Seddra and Mary Dyer.[10]

Hang the Culpeper brick on the gallows of Mary Dyer, and let, at least, the Puritan press close his mouth on the subject of intolerance, and the irreligious character of the early colonial ministers of Virginia!

And when it is remembered that the State of Virginia never, even in the slightest manner, punished one of her citizens, save and except for a premeditated and defiant violation of the law—a law that since 1689 only required the place of worship to be designated, and then only by a fine of a few shillings—let that brick be encircled, not with animosities, but with all the charities that ought to be extended to those who flagrantly violate, as well as to those who enforce her ancient and time-honored statutes.

The spirit that animated the early colonial ministers was the zeal of Hunt, Bucke and of Whitaker, which demanded churches for the worship of the God whom they adored, and these they built at Jamestown and everywhere else as rapidly as possible.

In 1621, if not before, they built a church on the Pembroke farm, in Elizabeth City county, the brick foundation of which was found by the Rev. John Collins McCabe, D, D., about the year 1850.

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[8] McConnell, p. 39.

[9] Bancroft, p. 367–77.

[10] Bancroft, pp. 452 to 458.

I come now to the date of the erection of the Old Brick Church, and I expect to prove that it was built in 1632.

2d. *The Tradition.*

The universal tradition everywhere, and at all times, universally, prevalent, in my county, is, that the Old Brick Church alluded to was built under the care and superintendence of one Joseph Bridger, the father of General Joseph Bridger, who lies buried on the farm now owned by James Davis, about a mile and a half distant from the old church—a farm that was called by General Joseph Bridger in his will in 1683, "The White Marsh Farm," and is so known, and so called, to this day.

This General Joseph Bridger was in his day the most prominent man in his county.

He was born in 1628, and in 1657,[11] at the age of (29) twenty-nine, he, with John Brewer, represented this county in the General Assembly of Virginia. In 1663,[12] he is again a member, and this year appears as Captain Joseph Bridger, and is a member of every important committee, but one.

In 1664, he is a commissioner to adjust the boundary line of Virginia and Maryland.[13]

In 1666,[14] he is one of the commissioners of this State to confer with the commissioners of Maryland and of North Carolina, relative to their tobacco interests.

In this year[15] he is also a member of the General Assembly, and appears there as Adjutant-General Bridger.

In 1675,[16] he is a member of the Council of State, and a colonel in the Indian wars.

In 1676-'77,[17] he is a member of the court at Green Spring.

In 1676, his surrender is demanded by Nathaniel Bacon, Jr.,[18] characterized as "the rebel."

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[11] Hening. Vol. I, p. 431.

[12] Hening, Vol. II, p. 197.

[13] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum* p. 303.

[14] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 303.

[15] Hening, Vol. II, p. 225, Il. 249.

[16] Hening, Vol. II, p. 328, and Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 348-9.

[17] Hening, Vol. II, p. 548 and 551-7, 60.

[18] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum*, p. 363.

In 1677, he is a member of the court at the Middle Plantations, and is a witness to the will of Sir William Berkeley.[19]

In 1680, he is a Councillor of State and Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Isle of Wight, Surry, Nansemond and Lower Norfolk; and Colonel Arthur Smith, of Isle of Wight, and Colonel John Lear and Major Milner, of Nansemond, are under his command.[20]

In 1683, he is a member of the Council of State and of the General Court, along with his Excellency, Thomas, Lord Culpeper, Governor, &c., Mr. Secretary Spencer, Mr. Auditor Bacon, Major-General Smith, Colonel Philip Ludwell, Colonel William Cole, Ralph Wormley, Esq., Colonel Richard Lee, Colonel John Page, and Colonel William Byrd.[21]

The last codicil to his will bears date April 9th, 1685, and it is acknowledged in open court, which was then held at The Glebe, about a mile from Smithfield, where the court-house was located until 1752, when it was moved to Smithfield. In his will he makes special mention of his friends, Lieutenant-Colonel John Pitt, Mr. Thomas Pitt, and Colonel Arthur Smith, and of his brick house on the White Marsh farm, where he resided, the brick basement of which still exists to this day. And though the field has been constantly cultivated, from time immemorial, right up to the house, and right up to the very edge of the grave, yet, the innumerable bricks still lying scattered everywhere around, attest the largeness and the magnificence of that house. In 1890, Mr. Edward Pitt, a descendant of the Pitts above-mentioned, and a firm believer in the truth of the old tradition we are considering, now an aged man, a resident for many and many a long year on that White Marsh farm, as owner and as tenant, showed me the tomb of General Bridger, the basement of his house, and told me he had frequently picked up bricks with the prints of the feet of fowls and of dogs on them, made whilst they were soft, showing that they had been burnt on or near the farm.

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[19] Hening, Vol. II, p. 548-51-7, 60.

[20] Colonial Papers, No. 63, in Record office, London, as published in the *Richmond Dispatch*, July 6, 1890

[21] Hening, Vol. III, p. 557.

General Bridger died on the 15th day of April, 1686, the owner of a very large amount of personal property, and more than twelve thousand acres of land in Isle of Wight county, besides an unknown amount in Surry, James City, and in Maryland. He was buried in the field near his house, and on his marble slab there is this inscription, which is still perfectly legible:

SACRED
To Y^e^ MEMORY OF
THE HON^ble^ JOSEPH BRIDGER
Esq. COUNCEL^r^ OF. STATE. IN VIRGINIA
To KING CHARLES Y^e^ 2.^d^
DYING APRIL Y^e^ 15: A: D: 1689
AGED 58 YEARES MOURNFULLY LEFT
His WIFE 3 SONS & 4 DAUGHTERS

Does Nature silent mourn & can. dumb. stone
Make his true worth to future Ages knowne
Excels expreſsion Marble ſure will keep
His Mem'ry best y^t^ ever. on. his grave ſhall weep
Here lies y^e^ late great Miniſter. of State
That Royal virtues had & Royal fate
To Charles his Councels did. ſuch. hon^rs^ bring
His own expreſs ſetchd him t' attend y^e^ king
His Soul y^t^ ev^r^ did w^th^ vigour move
Nimbly took wing. soared like it ſelfe above
For y^e^ bright stars ner'e layfily. decline
But in an inſtant shoot y.^t^ ceaſe to shine

His wife, Hester, was living as late as 1698, and as Madame Bridger witnessed the will of Colonel John Lear of Nansemond. His son, William, died in 1704. His son, Joseph, died in 1712. His son, Samuel, died in 1713.[22]

[22] I am indebted to W. G. Stanard, Esq., for the following information relative to the Bridgers:

Colonel Samuel Bridger, Justice of the Peace in 1691; William Bridger, Burgess, 1718; Joseph Bridger, Sheriff of Isle of Wight, 1732; James and Joseph Bridger, Burgesses, 1758, 1761; James Bridger, Burgess, 1765; James Bridger, Justice Isle of Wight, 1769; Joseph Bridger, Burgess, 1772; Joseph Bridger, Burgess, 1773-'4—vacated seat in 1774 to accept the office of sheriff.

His daughters were Martha Godwin, Mary, Elizabeth and Hester; and Elizabeth died in 1717.

I am particular, in giving, with some minuteness, the history of General Bridger, because the tradition of the building of the Old Brick Church is immediately associated with him and his father, and is handed down directly through many of their descendants and associates, who have always been of the very highest social and intellectual prominence in the Church and in State, in peace and in war. No tradition could possibly descend through them, which was not founded on an absolute fact.

The names of many of these descendants and associates, whose families still reside in the county of Isle of Wight, appear upon an old Vestry book of the Church now in the clerk's office of this county, which, commencing in 1723—only six years after the death of Elizabeth Bridger—was, until 1733, the Vestry book of the Bay Church alone, and afterwards, of it, and of the Old Brick Church, until its final entry in 1777. In the first entry in this book relative to the church it is then and there called "The Old Brick Church." It was hoary with age then; even then its white hair floated in the breeze. Treating this Vestry book, for manifest reasons, as an entirety, it shows that William Bridger, a grandson of General Bridger, was a vestryman from 1724 to 1730; that Major Joseph Bridger, another grandson, was a vestryman from 1735 to 1747; that Joseph Bridger, a great grandson, was a vestryman from 1747 to 1749; that Colonel Joseph Bridger, another great grandson, was a vestryman from 1757 to 1769; and that James Bridger, a grandson or great grandson, was a vestryman from 1766 to 1777.

This Colonel Joseph Bridger, the next most important personage in the tradition, was the associate and friend of Arthur Smith and William Hodsden, who were co-vestrymen of the old church, and co-trustees of the town of Smithfield in 1752.

It is a matter of absolute impossibility for any one to read the Acts of February, 1752, docking the entail of the Arthur Smith lands, and the Act of 1754, docking the entail of the Joseph Bridger lands, without instantly perceiving, that whoever drew those acts, were perfectly familiar with the entire history of both families.

Colonel Joseph Bridger died intestate in 1769, and left surviving him his widow Mary, and his daughters, Judith and Catherine.

Mary and her father, Thomas Pierce, on the 4th of January, 1770, qualified as the personal representatives upon his estate, and Robert Tynes and William Davis were the appraisers of that estate.

Mary, the widow, on the 17th of June, 1773, married Josiah Parker, who was a member of all of the Conventions of the State in 1775, afterwards a distinguished colonel in the Revolutionary war, and lived till 1810; and their daughter, Ann Pierce Parker, in 1802, married Captain William Cowper, United States Navy, of Nansemond, the gallant commander of the *Baltimore*, and the son, I think, of that Captain John Cowper of the same county, who nailing his flag to the masts of the brig *Dolphin*, sailed out of the waters of the Nansemond river into those of the Chesapeake, with a vow that he would attack the first enemy that he met, regardless of her size and armament, and never surrender, and went down at sea in a death grapple with two of the enemy, in full sight of Fortress Monroe, in that heroic manner so graphically portrayed in William Wirt Henry's spendid memoir of his glorious grandsire, Patrick Henry (Vol. I, p. 480).

Mrs. Cowper died in March, 1849. She was a woman of extraordinary endowments and of superior cultivation, and had enjoyed, when her father was a member of Congress from 1789 to 1801, all the advantages that the best schools in Philadelphia could give. Dr. John R. Purdie, one of our oldest citizens, and always one of its most intelligent and distinguished, called by the late Rev. Philip Slaughter "the venerable Dr. Purdie, the most antique pillar of the parish," now in the eighty-third year of his age, knew her well, was her family physician, said of her: "Her intelligence possessed a State if not a national reputation.[23] She was proud of her family, and thoroughly conversant with all of its history. I have in my possession her copy of the inscription on the tombstone of General Bridger. It is endorsed "Inscription on the tomb of the Honorable Joseph Bridger, Paymaster-General to the British troops in America

[23] *Suffolk Sun*, 1872.

during Bacon's rebellion, in the reign of Charles the Second of England. General Bridger was the son and heir of the Joseph Bridger, who superintended the building of St. Luke's Church, in Newport Parish, Isle of Wight county."

Mr. N. P. Young, now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, who, since 1841, has been the clerk of the courts of this county, says of her: "She was a lady of great intelligence and varied information, I was always delighted with her conversations. She frequently spoke of the Old Church, and of its ancient date, which she always fixed as in 1632."

Her copy of the inscription was made after 1827, for the Old Brick Church was never called St. Luke's until it was so called by the Rev. William H. G. Jones, its first rector after the Revolutionary war, in his report of that year to the Council of his Church; and her copy, therefore, has all the force and sanction that could possibly be given to it by family pride, by personal investigation, not only in the bloom but in the full maturity of her splendid powers. And the full weight of this sanction cannot be appreciated without the knowledge that Colonel Parker, by virtue of his marriage with the widow Bridger, became the custodian of a large quantity of very valuable papers that related to the family, and to the Old Church, the majority of which were seized and destroyed by Tarleton's men in 1781, when they endeavored to capture Colonel Parker at his home, and the balance were lost in the war of 1812. Mrs. Cowper was perfectly familiar with these papers, cherished them as the jewels of her household, and verbally, and in writing, transmitted the substance of them to posterity.

Judith Bridger, her half-sister, who had the same pride and the same facilities for knowing the contents of these papers, married Richard Baker; and Catherine, her sister, married Blake Baker—the sons of Benjamin Baker of Nansemond.

Richard Baker was the father of the late Richard H. Baker, who was born in 1788, and died in 1871, in the eighty-third year of his age. He was from 1834 (with the slight interruption occasioned by the late war) until his death, a period of thirty-seven years, the very distinguished judge of this the second judicial circuit. He, too, was proud of his descent, and had every opportunity, in the eighty-three years of constant association

with his kindred and people of this section, to apply his judicial mind to the traditions of his family, and of the church, in which he had an ancestral right to be interested. His mother, Judith Bridger Baker, survived until 1840 or 1841, and he had every opportunity of learning from her all that she knew of these matters.

The present Richard H. Baker, the son of the late judge, took especial pains to learn from his father and mother all that they had learned from his grandmother relative to the Bridgers, and the traditions of the Old Church, and committed to writing, during their lives, notes of the conversations he had with them, which notes (now before me) say, "My grandmother Baker was Judith Bridger of Macclesfield in the Isle of Wight county, great-granddaughter of the Sir Joseph Bridger who built St. Luke's Church in 1632." This statement, then, has all of the endorsement which it is possible to derive from the great names of Judge Richard H. Baker, and of his mother, Judith Bridger Baker.

In the will of the Elizabeth Bridger, who died in 1717, mention is made of her daughter Patience Milner, and of her granddaughters Elizabeth and Martha Norsworthy.

The third George Norsworthy,[24] who died in 1724—the year after the commencement of the old Vestry book alluded to—married Elizabeth Bridger, the daughter of the Elizabeth Bridger just above spoken of.

Joseph Norsworthy, a descendent of this George, was born in 1771, and died in March, 1859.

Mr. Joseph C. Norsworthy, a grandson of this Joseph, who Dr. Purdie says, "was remarkable for his integrity, his memory and his intelligence," writes me that "he told me many times that the Old Brick Church was built in 1632; that in 1666 a Miss Norsworthy was buried in the aisle of the church, close to the chancel. He showed me the spot, and mentioned £5 as the burial fee. He also gave me a history of the re-shingling of the church as he received it from his father and grandfather; and he stated that there never was a doubt in the minds of any of them that the Old Church was built in 1632."

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[24] Letters of J. C. Norsworthy and family tree.

The history of this re-shingling, as received by Mr. Joseph Norsworthy from his father and grandfather, and imparted by him to his son, Nathaniel, to his grandson, Joseph C., to his friend, Dr. Purdie, and others, was that the Old Church was not re-shingled from 1632 to 1737. And the old Vestry book, to which allusion has been made, which it is reasonable to suppose Mr. Norsworthy never saw (for the vestry was dissolved in 1777, and the courthouse moved to its present location in 1800), and if he did, never read, contains an important entry bearing directly on this point, and strongly confirmatory of it.

It says that at a vestry meeting held on the 11th day of October, 1737, it was ordered "That Peter Woodward do the shingling of the church with good cypress shingles, of good substance, and well nailed, for 700 pounds of tobacco; 300 pounds being now levied; to be finished at or before the next parish levy, and the church wardens to take bond and security for the payment of the same."

The credit of the discovery of this entry is entirely due to the indefatigable research of Dr. Purdie, who, in an article in the *Southern Churchman* in 1882, commenting on this entry, says: "as the best cypress shingles are known to resist the elements more than one hundred years, the date of the building of the Old Brick Church, as derived from tradition, must receive support from this record." And Bishop Meade, in the second volume of his *Old Churches and Families*, p. 119, alluding to Christ Church, Lancaster county, Virginia, says: "the offer was cheerfully accepted, and the present house was completed about the time of Mr. Carter's death—that is, about the year 1732—and exhibits to this day (1838) one of the most striking monuments of the fidelity of ancient architecture to be seen in our land. Very few, if any, repairs have been put upon it; the original roof and shingles now cover the house, and have preserved in a state of perfection the beautiful arched ceilings, except in two places, which have within a few years, been a little discolored by rain, which found its way through the gutters where the shingles have decayed." When, in a few years afterwards the church was repaired, "the shingles, except in the decayed gutters, were so good that they were sold to the neighbors around,

and will probably now last longer than many new ones just gotten from the woods."

In confirmation of these observations, it may be added that the Old Brick Church was not again re-shingled until 1821,[25] when a vestry—the first that was organized after the war—had it done, and made some material alterations in the interior arrangements of the church.

During all that period of profound silence and absolute disuse, from 1777 to 1821, save very rare and occasional services, the grand Old Church was left the prey to all the elements and to every despoiler who chose to raise his sacrilegious hands against it.

In 1642,[26] only ten years after the church was built, Mr. Falkner had charge of all the churches in the county of Isle of Wight. In that year the county was divided into two parishes, the Upper and the Lower; and the Old Brick Church was in the Lower Parish.

In 1680,[27] William Hodsden was the minister of the church in the Lower Parish, and also of the church in Chuckatuck Parish.

In 1746, William Hodsden, a descendant of this William, was a vestryman of this Old Church, and so continued until 1752. He was an intimate friend of Colonel Joseph Bridger; and was with him, a co-trustee of the town of Smithfield. He married Sarah Bridger, and died in 1797. He was the father of the Joseph Bridger Hodsden, who was born in 1776, and died in 1815; and he was the father of the Joseph Bridger Hodsden, who was born in 1811, and died in 1877; and he was the father of the Joseph Bridger Hodsden, who gave me these dates. Like the Norsworthys, they were the neighbors of the Bridgers, intermarried with them, resided in the same neighborhood, and have received and transmitted from father to son the same tradition of the construction of the Old Church.

Arthur Smith was a vestryman of the Old Church from 1736 to 1740; and Thomas Smith, his nephew and heir-at-law, was a vestryman from 1745 to 1751.

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[25] Joseph Norsworthy and Dr. John Robinson Purdie.

[26] Hening, Vol. I, p. 279.

[27] Senate Document, 1874.

They were the descendants of the Arthur Smith, who with George Hardy, represented the county in the General Assembly of 1644.[28] He claimed descent from the Sir Thomas Smith,[29] who was so long the treasurer of the Virginia Company of London.

The first Arthur Smith died in 1645,[30] the friend of the first Joseph Bridger. He left a son, Colonel Arthur Smith, who died in 1696, the friend of General, the second Joseph Bridger, and was, together with Lieutenant-Colonel Pitt and Thomas Pitt, the adviser by his will of his widow, and like them, the recipient of a legacy for a memorial ring.

The second Colonel Arthur Smith, who died in 1696, left a son (Arthur) who died in 1755, and was the guardian of Colonel Joseph Bridger, under the will of his father.

The third Arthur Smith, who died in 1755, left the nephew Thomas, spoken of above, who was the father of the fourth Arthur, the Colonel Arthur Smith, who was a member of the General Assembly of Virginia in 1819, a member of the Council of State in 1809 and 1816,[31] and a member of Congress from 1821 to 1825. He died in 1854, and the date of the construction of the Old Church was received by him from ancestors, who were the contemporaries of all of the Bridgers, and he transmitted the tradition as he received it.

Richard Hardy, the vestryman of the church from 1769 to 1777, was a descendant of the George Hardy of 1644, and was the father of George, William, and Samuel, and of Nancy, Hannah and Sarah.

Sam Hardy, as he was, and still is, familiarly called, was, perhaps, the most brilliant man that the county of Isle of Wight ever produced, and as everything but his name has been allowed to fade into oblivion, I will crave your indulgence for putting on record something more than the mere mention of his name. He was at William and Mary in 1776,[32] during the presidency of the

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[28] Hening, Vol. I, p. 283.

[29] Miss Eliza Cocke's Genealogical Tree.

[30] Hening, Vol. VI, p. 308.

[31] Furnished by R. A. Brock.

[32] Catalogues, pp. 97, 80, 50; Vestry Book, p. 117.

Rev. John Camm, who was the rector of the Old Brick Church in 1745. He was, with Spencer Roane and John Page and John Marshall and Bushrod Washington, among the original members of the Phi Beta Kappa Society of that College. Hugh Blair Grigsby[33] speaks of him as "the amiable and lamented Hardy," "one of the most popular and beloved of our early statesmen," "brilliant, profound, and suddenly snatched away," and Lyon G. Tyler[34] calls him "the eloquent Hardy, whose early death extinguished the most brilliant expectations." He entered the House of Delegates about the close of the war, and remained an active member until he was sent to Congress in 1783. He died in Philadelphia whilst a member of Congress, on Monday, the 17th of October, 1785. His death was announced in Congress the same day, which resolved "that the members as a body would attend the funeral the following day with crepe around the left arm, and will continue in mourning for one month." Mr. Grayson, Mr. Read, and Mr. Kean were appointed a committee to superintend the funeral, and they were ordered "to invite the Governor of the State, the Ministers of Foreign Powers, the Mayor of the city, and other persons of distinction to attend the funeral."[35] The funeral expenses were £114 9s., and they were paid by William Grayson, who brought the matter to the attention of the State. On the 5th of December, 1785, Judge Tyler[36] addressed a tender and loving letter to Patrick Henry, the Governor, in which he said "his father has been much injured by the war; his family is large, and such a sum as £150 would distress him greatly, as I know he would most certainly encounter any difficulty rather than not pay it;" and it was paid by the State.[37]

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[33] History of the *Virginia Convention*, Vol. II (Va. Hist. Colls. X), 1788, pp. 137, 226, and copy of Journal of 1785, furnished me by Senator John W. Daniel.

[34] Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 191.

[35] *Virginia Convention* of 1788, Vol. II, pp. 137, 226.

[36] Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 191.

[37] On page 342, of the third volume of W. W. Henry's Life of P. Henry, is the letter of P. Henry, of December 12, 1875, to "The Speaker of the House of Delegates, urging the Legislature to pay the funeral expenses of the late Hon'ble Mr. Hardy, because of the merits of the deceased gentleman, and of the circumstances which make an application to his

His associates in Congress were Thomas Jefferson, William Grayson, Richard Henry Lee, Arthur Lee, and James Monroe. "Monroe and Hardy were about the same age, were in the Assembly together, were on terms of strictest intimacy, and boarded with Mrs. Ege in Richmond. When Monroe made his Southern tour, as President, he called to see his old landlady, who presently appeared, and though thirty-odd years had passed since the death of Hardy, as she threw her arms about the neck of Monroe, she sobbed forth "Poor Hardy." His remains rest in Philadelphia, where those of Henry Tazewell, James Innes, Stevens Thomson Mason, Isaac Read, and other gallant and patriotic Virginians still repose."

On hearing of his death, Judge Tyler[38] wrote the following beautiful tribute to his memory:

Ah, why my soul indulge this pensive mood,
Hardy is dead: the brave, the just the good.
Careless of censure, in his youthful bier
The muse shall drop a tributary tear.
His patriot bosom glowed with warmth divine,
And Oh! humanity! his heart was thine.
No party interest led his heart astray:
He chose a nobler, though a beaten way.
Nor shall his virtues there remain unsung—
Pride of the Senate, and their guide and tongue.
That tongue, no more, can make even truth to please—
Polite with art, and elegant with ease.
Fain would the muse augment the plaintive strain;
Tho' the most flattering panegyric vain,
When the brief sentence, youthful Hardy's dead,
Speaks more than poet ever thought or said!

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surviving friends improper." These circumstances are mentioned in Judge Tyler's letter.

So the funeral expenses of the budding statesman were ultimately borne by the State as the last tribute it could pay to his worth and to his genius.

[38] Letters and Times of the Tylers, Vol. I, p. 191.

The elegy of Hardy[39] on the death of Michael Young, on March 26, 1782, the sole known product of his pen,[40] shows that he possessed great poetic powers.

"The curtain's drawn—the awful scene is past—
My once respected friend has breathed his last.
Exhausted nature sinks into repose,
A long, long sleep his feeble eyelids close.
Terrific death with all its dire parade,
A conquest of his mortal part has made.
Cold are those hands that tuned the pleasing lyre,
That rais'd the hero's ardor, and the patriot's fire,
That made old age awhile forget its years,
And eased the restless mind from anxious cares;
That soothed, enraptured, or distressed the mind,
Brightened the genius, and the soul refined;
Harmonious numbers never more to sound.
Alas! he's gone; he moulders in the ground.
Pale is the cheek that wore the blooming youth,
Silent the tongue that spoke the voice of truth.
Dried are those tears that ne'er refused to flow
In tender sympathy for anothers woe—
Breathless the breast that glowed with filial love
For earthly parents and his God above.
Nor need we end the patriot here:
He was the tender brother, and the friend sincere.
From virtuous precepts to virtuous arts inclined,
His thoughts exalted, and serene his mind.
But death tyrannic aimed the fatal dart—
It flew unerring, and it reached the heart.
He fell beneath the cruel tyrant's power,
Nipped in his bloom, like some fair vernal flower.

[39] Furnished by John R. Purdie and N. P. Young.

[40] Since the above was written the third volume of W. W. Henry's Life of P. Henry has been published, and on p. 268, I find a letter from Hardy, dated New York, January 17, 1785, to P. Henry, Governor, "enclosing a memorial of some citizens of Virginia praying to be indulged with a separate government," and on pp. 273-7, I find a joint letter from Samuel Hardy and James Monroe, dated February 13, 1785, relative to the location of the Federal Capitol.

But why lament? Why draw the far-fetched sigh?
We all are mortal, and we all must die.
His mortal part has felt the tyrant's sway;
To happier climes his soul has winged its way.
On seraph wings he took a rapid flight,
And seraph-like now revels in delight.
Why then dread death? Why fear to pass o'er
The gulf that parts from that happy shore?
Where death stalks not in horrible array,
Enrobed in terrors that produce dismay,
But through verdant fields the kindred spirits glide,
And flowery landscapes charm on every side,
Whilst youth immortal blooms on every cheek
With endless joy, and happiness complete."

Mr. Monroe, during the Convention of 1829, pronounced Mr. Hardy the most brilliant man of his age that he ever knew.[41]

The State of Virginia, in 1786, cherishing his memory, named the county of Hardy, now in West Virginia, after him, and Hardy's Bluff, and Hardy District, in the county of Isle of Wight, show how his name and family have impressed themselves on her heart and on her memory.

Archer Carroll married Agnes Hardy of this family, and their son, George Carroll, married Miss Wrenn. N. P. Young married Virginia Carroll.

The traditions of the Old Church are fondly cherished in all the branches of this family.

Robert Tynes, the vestryman from 1746 to 1777, served with every vestryman whom we have or shall mention, except William Bridger, and could, therefore, repeat to John Day what he learnt from Lawrence Baker. He was, as we have seen, the appraiser of the estate of Colonel Bridger. Henry Tynes, a descendant of his, died in Chuckatuck in 1874, and Robert Tynes, his son, died there in 1891. I knew both of them well, but I do not remember to ever to have conversed with either on this subject. But as they were intelligent gentlemen, and lived only five miles from the Church, it is impossible for them to have been ignorant of its history.

[41] Dr. John R. Purdie, from his father, John H. Purdie.

Nicholas Parker was a vestryman from 1760 to 1777. He was born in 1722, and died in 1789. He married Ann Copeland, who was born in 1723, and died in 1786. She was the daughter of Joseph Copeland and Mary Woodley, the daughter of Andrew Woodley. Joseph Copeland was probably a descendant of the Rev. Patrick Copeland, who was chaplain on the *Royal James* in 1617, and when near the Cape of Good Hope collected from her officers and men £70 "for the good of Virginia." He also, on the 18th of April, 1622, preached before the Virginia Company, of London, and "urged the promotion of the noble plantation that[42] tended so highly to the advancement of the Gospel, and the honoring of our dread sovereign." He spent fully £1,000 sterling in Bermuda for a school for the training of Indian children, and died between 1649 and 1655. The frequency of the intercourse between Bermuda and Virginia suggests the migration of the family to this country.

Nicholas Parker and Ann Copeland were the parents of the Colonel Josiah Parker, who married the widow Bridger.

Thomas Woodley, the vestryman from 1728 to 1755, was the brother of Mary and the son of Andrew Woodley, who came to this country in 1691 with his wife, Mary, and his sons, Thomas and Henry, and had born unto him here John, who married Francis Wilson, and Mary, who married Joseph Copeland.

Thomas had a son John, who married Catherine Boykin, the widow of Major Francis Boykin, who was Catherine Bryant, of Northampton county, North Carolina. They had a son Andrew, who married Elizabeth Hill Harrison, and their daughter Frances was my mother.

Jordan Thomas, the vestryman from 1746 to 1755, was a descendant of the Richard Thomas whose will bears date in 1681. He was the county surveyor and laid off the town of Smithfield in 1752 for Arthur Smith. He lived to a green old age and died in 1807.

My mother knew Mrs. Cowper intimately, and like her possessed a masculine mind and a fondness for genealogy. They were archæologists of highest order. I knew Frederick P. P.

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[42] Neill, Virginia Company, p. 251, 253, 254, 372, 374; Neill, Virginia Vetusta, p. 134, 193, 194, 195; Brown's Genesis, 973.

Cowper, the son of Mrs. Cowper, intimately, and from him, and from my mother, I have heard, repeatedly, the history of the Old Church, and in all the branches of our family the tradition of its construction is confidently believed.

Lawrence Baker, the vestryman from 1724 to 1757 was the father of Richard Baker, who was a vestryman from 1760 to 1777, and clerk of the county from 1754 to 1770.

It is believed that Benjamin Baker, of Nansemond, is a descendant of the Isle of Wight branch of this family.

John Day is the ancestor of Colonel C. F. Day, of Smithfield, and his wife is a granddaughter of General John Scarsbrook Wills, who was a member of all of the conventions of 1775 and and 1776, and prominent in the Revolutionary war.

The traditions of the Old Church are preserved in this family.

From the vestrymen of the Old Church, and from every person and family who has ever had any official or unofficial connection with it, has descended the same invariable tradition. And the pregnant fact must be considered, that it has never been contradicted. It would have been contradicted, if contradiction had been possible. As everyone knows, Nansemond county was the early and the congenial home of the non-conformist. Its boundary line is only five miles distant; and it would have been perfectly natural and inevitable for them to have furnished willing witnesses against the tradition, if any witnesses at all, could by any possibility, have been found. Then, besides, Benn's church, the most famous Methodist church in this section, has grown upon the ruins of the Old Church, and antagonistic as it was in its early days, it has never furnished a person to suggest a doubt of the correctness of the ancient tradition. On the contrary, all of its members, like the Norsworthys and the Hodsdens are zealous supporters of that tradition.

The tradition, then, is the tradition of friends and of foes; is universal; is coeval with the Church; has always been asserted, never denied, and must be accepted as true. And it has been accepted as true by Dr. Hawks, by Bishop Meade, by Philip Slaughter, by the whole county of Isle of Wight, and by every person who has given to this subject the consideration that its importance demands.

3d. *The Lately Existing Records.*

Francis Young was deputy clerk of the county of Isle of Wight from 1768 to 1787; and clerk from 1787 to 1794. He was succeeded by his son, James, from 1794 to 1800; by his son, Francis, from 1800 to 1801; and by his son, Nathaniel, from 1801 to 1841; and Nathaniel P. Young, the son of Nathaniel and grandson of Francis, has held the office from 1841 to the present time, with the slight interval of the days when Virginia was a military district.

In 1781, when the courthouse of the county was in the town of Smithfield (Nathaniel Burwell, the clerk, having left this section of the State), the custody of the records of the county was in the hands of Francis Young, his deputy clerk. He being in the regiment of General John Scarsbrook Wills, was absent from the county; but his faithful wife, learning that Tarleton intended to make a raid on Smithfield to destroy the records, took and buried them on what is now the farm of John F. Scott, near the mill-pond, in a trunk that is now in the clerk's office. They remained buried for a long while.

Dr. John R. Purdie, the brother-in-law of the late Nathaniel Young, in an article in the *Southern Churchman* of October 19th, 1882, alluding to these facts, writes: "I have heard him (Nathaniel Young) say that when a boy there was in the office an old record book containing vestry proceedings, in which he noticed entries relating to the Old Brick Church, and his recollection was clear that they were of the date of 1632. At the time these entries were discovered the book containing them was in an advanced stage of decay, caused by the dampness whilst they were buried, as I have stated, and soon yielded to the tooth of time. Mr. Young was remarkable for the strength of his memory and accuracy of statement."

Dr. Purdie has always been remarkable for his antiquarian research, for the love of his section and State, for the strength of his memory, and for the accuracy of his statements.

Mr. N. P. Young, the present clerk, now in the seventy-fifth year of his age, writes me: "He (my father) said that for many years after he went into the clerk's office there were two old books the rerelative to the Church and the proceedings of the vestry, and that the older of the two, being greatly damaged by having been

buried in 1781, was destroyed by worms. In this book was, as stated by him, the proceedings relative to the erection of the Old Church. When I entered the office in 1836, nothing was left of this old book but the back and small portions of the leaves, so eaten by the worms that it was perfectly illegible."

The existence, then, of this old book, and the substance of its entries, relative to the Old Church must, upon the testimony of these living witnesses, and of the one so lately deceased, be accepted as an unquestionable fact.

4th. *The Bricks and the Mortar of the Church.*

In June, 1887, the Rev. David Barr, rector of Christ Church, attended a convocation held at Old St. John's Church, Smithfield, near Chuckatuck. On the Sunday of that convocation a very severe storm of wind and rain came up, which, with its thunder, shook all that neighborhood. On Monday, as he was returning home, when he came in sight of the Old Brick Church, he observed that the storm had so shaken that Old Church that its roof had fallen in, and that a large part of the eastern wall had fallen on that roof. With a sad heart he stopped and surveyed the distressing scene, but, plucking courage from disaster, he resolved, then and there, that the Old Church should be rebuilt, and that the most ancient building in all America of European construction should be preserved to the State and to the Church which had erected it.

Mr. Emmet W. Maynard, formerly a citizen of Surry, had recently moved into the immediate neighborhood, and Mr. Barr at once engaged him, as chief workman, to remove the fallen roof and the encumbering bricks. Mr. Maynard entered promptly upon the work, and after he had removed the debris of the roof, he then began upon that of the fallen wall and the scattered bricks. Whilst so engaged, he, one day, found in the southeast corner of the Church, where the wall had chiefly fallen, a curious brick, which upon examination seemed to have something cut into it, which, by accident or design, was filled with mortar. With a sharp-pointed stick he removed the mortar until first dimly, and then clearly, and then still more clearly, was seen the figures 1632. Mr. Maynard had so recently become a citizen of the county, that I doubt, if he knew the significance of that

brick; but as it came from that portion of the eastern wall that had fallen in the Church, was peculiar in its character and shape, and had some figures on it, which, probably, were made whilst the brick was soft and before it had been burnt, he saved it, and when Mr. Barr next came to the Church he showed it to him and informed him when and where and how he found it. Mr. Barr told him rapidly and excitedly something of the ancient history of the Church and of the importance of the brick, and then, they both, with the zeal of the antiquary, fired by the discovery of the buried city or lost treasure—the proof of his faith—began a search inside and outside of the Church to see what further they could find. Presently they came upon a piece of broken brick inside of the Church, and not far from the spot where the whole brick had been found, with a figure 1 upon it. Being still more excited by this discovery, they increased the energy of the search, and after some hours of scrutiny and toil, they found on the southeast side of the Church, on the outside of it and near the tower, another piece of brick with a figure 2 on it. On putting these two pieces of broken brick together they were delighted to see that they fitted perfectly. The brick had been broken in two. On one part was the figure 1, on the other part was the figure 2, and the middle figures was destroyed by the violent separation of the brick in its fall. These broken pieces that belonged to the middle of the brick were two small to be then found, for nearly the whole of the rubbish had been removed and thrown away. But here were the pieces of the second brick, in its make and shape exactly like the first, with the same figures upon either end. The conviction was then, and is now, absolute, on inspection, that the middle figures were 6 and 3, making 1632, like its companion brick. Both had been made by the same parties, at the same time, from the same clay, burnt in the same kiln, put in the same wall near the same place by the same workman, and both had been deeply and firmly concealed from all human sight and knowledge from 1632 to 1887, when they were, simultaneously, disclosed to the world by the voice of God speaking in the storm.

And thus the Church, by its very brick and mortar, confirms the ancient tradition of the people, the truth of the crumbled record, and of the Vestry book still extant, and they all join in

one consistent and harmonious acclaim that—The Old Brick Church was Built in 1632.

The ministers of the Old Brick Church, besides Falkner and Hodgen, so far as known, were:

The Rev. Thomas Bailey, prior to and during 1724.

The Rev. Mr. Barlow, from March 30th, 1725, to October, 1726.

The Rev. John Gammill, from March 9th, 1729, to November 25th, 1743.

The Rev. John Camm, from March 4th, 1745, to a few months only.

The Rev. John Reid, from March 8th, 1746, to April, 1757.

The Rev. Mr. Milner, from February, 1766, to May 3d, 1770. He was a descendant of that Colonel Thomas Milner, who was a Justice of the Peace and Colonel in 1680, who was clerk to the Assembly in 1684, and its Speaker in 1691, and probably the son of that Milner who married Patience, the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Bridger.

The Rev. I. H. Burgess, for the years 1773–'74,–'75, and '76.

The Rev. —— Hubard, died on the Glebe in 1802.

The Rev. Samuel Butler, occasionally, 1780.

The Rev. William G. H. Jones, from 1826 to 1832.

Bishop Richard C. Moore confirmed a class of four in 1820—viz: Colonel Brewer Godwin, Parker Wills, Mrs. Ann P. P. Cowper, and Margaret S. Purdie.

The last marriage in the Church was that of George W. Purdie and Evelina Belmont Smith, on April 26th, 1836.

LIST OF VESTRYMEN FROM 1724.

Lawrence Baker,	vestryman	from	1724 to 1757.
William Bridger,	"	"	1724 to 1730.
Thomas Woodley,	"	"	1728 to 1755.
Major Joseph Bridger,	"	"	1735 to 1747.
Arthur Smith,	"	"	1736 to 1740.
Thomas Smith,	"	"	1745 to 1751.
Jordan Thomas,	"	"	1746 to 1755.
Robert Tynes,	"	"	1746 to 1777.
William Hodsden,	"	"	1746 to 1757.

Joseph Bridger,	vestrymen	from	1746 to 1749.
Colonel Joseph Bridger,	"	"	1757 to 1769.
Nicholas Parker,	"	"	1760 to 1777.
Richard Baker,	"	"	1760 to 1777.
James Bridger, clerk in 1753,	"	"	1766 to 1777.
Richard Hardy,	"	"	1769 to 1777.
John Day,	"	"	1777.

There was no election of a vestry from 1756 to 1777. It was then on the petition of "sundry inhabitants" of the parish of Newport, in the county of Isle of Wight, dissolved.[43]

The names of the other vestrymen appearing in the old Vestry-book are Samuel Davis, Mathew Jones, Thomas Walton, William Kinchin, William Crumpler, James Day, George Riddick, Mathew Wills, Reuben Proctor, Nathaniel Ridley, John Goodrich, George Williamson, James Ingles, John Porson, John Davis, John Simmons, William Wilkinson, Joseph Godwin, Henry Lightfoot, John Monroe, Thomas Parker, Hardy Council, Henry Pitt, Richard Wilkinson, Henry Applewhaite, Thomas Day, John Lawrence, Hugh Giles, Thomas and John Applewhaite, Thomas Tynes, John Eley, John Darden, Dolphin Drew, John Wills, William Salter, Robert Barry, Charles Tilghman, Robert Burwell, Miles Wills, and Edmund Godwin.

One grand historic landmark of the old church-yard has recently yielded to the scythe of time, but its exact spot and its memory ought for many reasons to be perpetuated.

A grand old oak stood by the side of the road right between what is now the burial lots of William Gale and Walter B. Jordan Under that oak Tarleton and his officers rested when they made a dash for Colonel Josiah Parker in 1781. Under that oak Lorenzo Dow preached, Joseph Norsworthy and others were converted, and he and they there joined the Methodists, and laid the foundations of the now famous Benn's church. Under that oak elections were held, and under it Samuel Hardy, Josiah Parker, James Johnson, Arthur Smith, Joel Holleman, Archer

[43] See Journal of the Convention, June, 1776, p. 40; See Journal of the Convention, December, 1776, p. 80; See Hening, IX., chapter XX, p. 317.

Atkinson and Robert Whitfield—all members of Congress from this county—discussed the engrossing issues of their day.

Dr. Purdie, in an article in the *Southern Churchman* in November, 1882, speaking of that oak, says: "oaks of gigantic proportions and of great age stand near this venerable Christian temple. One of them, the oldest and perhaps the largest of the vegetable kingdom family in the county, if not in Eastern Virginia, was more than twenty years ago measured by myself in company with the Rev. Silas Totten, D. D., of the faculty of William and Mary College, and its circumference five feet from the ground was more than eighteen feet. Under its expansive boughs men now old gamboled in childhood and in youth. In its extensive shade the past and the present generations have lunched on protracted religious occasions. On its grassy carpet Virginia militia have formed ranks and performed simple and eccentric movements. And the loud harangues of legislative aspirants and political declaimers were ofttimes heard from its rugged roots. On the afternoon of a calm autumnal Sabbath in 1875, this vegetable giant, this patriarch of the forest, succumbed to nature's laws, and its mighty fall never to be revived, and not to be replaced in ages, it became a huge mass, if may I say, sacred timber and fire fuel."

Not only was this grand old oak loved for the reasons given, but because it, more, perhaps, than any of its fellows, was in the universal heart intimately associated with the tenderest sentiments. On its huge knees, purposely designed by nature, many sat, who, "Like Juno's swans, still went coupled and inseparable," and those knees were so diverged and distant that what was said in love's low tones on the one side of the faithful tree did not reach the engaged ear on the other. Grand old oak, how we miss you! Under that old oak,

> "Whose boughs were massed with age,
> And high top, bald with antiquity,"

how often have we gathered and carved names, and kissed the bark, and hugged its huge circumference, believing it to be inspired with the touch and feeling of her who had just left it. Broader than that which stood sentinel in Sumner-chase, it was

enshrined in sweeter memories, for as that had only one Walter and one Olivia, this had its hundreds.

And this whole grove, abandoned by the service of the Church, revered and loved for its ancient memories and its multitudinous dead here buried, its dense, extensive and sacred shade, its solemn hush and silence was our forest of Eden, where our melancholy Jacques and passionate Orlandos, "Sighing every minute and groaning every hour," hung "odes on hawthornes and elegies on brambles," saying—

"O Rosalind, these trees shall be my books,
And in their barks my thoughts I'll character;
That every eye which in this forest looks
Shall see thy virtues witnessed everywhere."

And now, having completed the history of this grand old church so far as it is known to me—not even having ignored its sentimental associations, let me express the hope that it will soon be restored to its pristine condition, and once again unite in harmony and in love with all other churches in the evangelization of the world.

R. S. THOMAS.

A PARTIAL LIST OF MINISTERS WHO CAME FROM 1607 TO 1622.

Robert Hunt came in 1607, died at Jamestown, 1609.

Richard Bucke came in 1610, died at Jamestown, 1624.

——— Glover came prior to 1611.

——— Poole came prior to 1611.

William Wickham came prior to 1611, died at Henrico, 1638.

Alexander Whitaker came prior to 1611, died at Henrico, 1617.

William Mease or Mays came prior to 1611, died at Henrico after 1623.

William Macock came prior to 1616, died at Henrico after 1626.

Thomas Bargrave came prior to 1618, died at Isle of Wight, 1621.

Robert Paulet came prior to 1620.

David Sandis came prior to 1620.

William Bennett came prior to 1621, died at Isle of Wight, 1624.

Robert Bolton came prior to 1621, lived in Accomac and Jamestown.

Jonas Stockton came prior to 1621, lived in Elizabeth City and Henrico.

Thomas White came prior to 1621.

Haut Wyatt came prior to 1621, lived in Jamestown.

——— Hopkins came prior to 1622.

——— Pemberton came prior to 1622.

Greville Pooley came prior to 1622.

William Cotton came about 1622.

The letter of the London Company to the Governor and Council of Virginia, dated September 11, 1621, speaking of books for the ministers, says : "As for books we doubt not you will be able to supply them out of the libraries of so many that have died."

R. S. T.

RICHMOND'S FIRST ACADEMY,

PROJECTED BY

M. QUESNAY DE BEAUREPAIRE,

IN 1786.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1891,

By RICHARD HEYWARD GAINES,

Richmond, Virginia.

Richmond's First Academy,

PROJECTED BY

M. QUESNAY DE BEAUREPAIRE.

Last winter, while attending a reception at the Authors Club in New York, given the artists of that city, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Moncure D. Conway, who, after some general conversation, mentioned a letter that he had just received from Paris, asking him to try and find any traces or records of the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire, in Virginia.

After returning to Richmond, Mr. Conway applied to me to assist him in collecting any information obtainable concerning the subject of which he had spoken. This worthy Frenchman, as some of you perhaps may know, proposed to establish at Richmond during the latter part of the eighteenth century an Academy of Arts and Sciences. The descendants of this interesting man form a distinguished family in France just now. The present Procureur Général, M. de Beaurepaire, is grandson of the Chevalier Quesnay, and wishes to write a mémoire of his ancestor.

Desirous to render Mr. Conway any assistance in my power, who in turn was anxious to communicate with his friend in Paris, I found after some weeks of search and inquiry several rare volumes from which a brief account of our subject could be gleaned.

In the State Library of Virginia, I discovered a curious and interesting volume in French, published in Paris in 1788, entitled



"Memoir and Prospectus concerning the Academy of Sciences and Fine Arts of the United States of America, established at Richmond, the capital of Virginia, by the Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire" (Founder and President).

From this memoir and other data collected from a variety of sources, including a contribution to Virginia Educational History by Prof. Adams, I have been enabled to prepare the following sketch :

The Chevalier Quesnay de Beaurepaire was grandson of Dr. Quesnay the famous French philosopher, economist and court physician of Louis the XVI ; a man eminent for his talents, his universal information and public spirit.

The grandson belonged to the cavalry of the guard of Louis the XVI, when this troop was disbanded. At this time the convulsions of the war of Revolution were agitating a portion of the New World. The chevalier was one of the enthusiastic Frenchmen who like de la Fayette came over to aid America. Attracted, he says in his memoirs, by the brilliant hope of distinguishing himself in arms, he served in Virginia, with honor, in the rank of captain, during the years of 1777 and 1778. The loss of his accoutrements, also of his letters of introduction, which were mislaid in the office of Patrick Henry, the then Governor of Virginia, and finally a severe illness and a want of pecuniary resources, at so great a distance from home, compelled him to abandon the profession of arms. In Gloucester county, Virginia, after he was obliged to leave the army, Sir John Peyton, touched with his destitute condition, kindly invited him to to his house, and insisted on his remaining there while he was awaiting assistance from his own country, and restoration of health. For nearly two years he bestowed on him every mark of kindness and treated him as his own son. After being restored to health, the chevalier having occasion to travel through the country, conceived the idea of improving it by the introduction of French culture and the fine arts. He says that the first idea of founding an academy in America was suggested to him in 1778, by Mr. John Page, of Rosewell, subsequently Governor of Virginia, who urged him to procure professors from Europe, promising to secure their appointment and make Quesnay the

president of the academy. He saw a good opportunity of multiplying the relations between France and America, or as he says in a letter to the French Academy of Sciences, "of uniting it with his country by new ties of gratitude, of conformity of taste and of a more intimate connection between the individuals of the nations." Thus originated a remarkable attempt to establish an institution for the higher education, on a grand scale in this country. It was an effort growing out of the French alliance with the United States, to plant in Richmond, the new capital of Virginia, a kind of French Academy of the Arts and Sciences, with branch academies in Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. The institution was to be at once national and international. It was to be affiliated with the royal societies of London, Paris, Brussels, and with other learned bodies in Europe. The general plan of the academy was one of the greatest magnitude. It was to be composed of a president, a vice-president, six counsellors, a treasurer-general, a secretary, a recorder, an agent for taking European subscriptions, French professors, masters, artists-in-chief attached to the academy, twenty-five resident and one hundred and seventy-five non-resident associates, selected from the best talent of the Old World and the New.

The academy proposed to publish yearly from its own press in Paris, an almanac, announcing to the academic world not only the officers and students of the Richmond institution, with their distinguished associates, but also the work projected by the academy from year to year—such work when completed was to be published in the memoirs of the academy, and distributed to the learned societies of Europe and to the associates and patrons of the institution. The academy was to show its active zeal for science by communicating to France and other European countries, a knowledge of the natural products of North America. The museums and cabinets of the Old World were to be enriched by specimens of the flora and fauna of a country as yet undiscovered by men of science; experts of every class were to be sent out to the new academy, where they were to teach the American youth and at the same time serve on scientific commissions for governments, corporations and stock companies. Special stress was laid upon the importance of introducing into

America, French Mineralogists and Mining Engineers, who were to fully develop the natural resources of the United States.

The projector of this brilliant scheme appears to have made diligent propaganda not only throughout Virginia, but the whole country in the interest of his novel academic idea. He even succeeded in raising by subscription the sum of 60,000 francs,—a fact which indicates that the scheme was seriously entertained. He gives in his memoir a list of the original subscribers, embracing nearly one hundred names—nine-tenths of the subscribers were Virginians, with the rest from Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. It may be of interest to mention a few of the following names of the patrons of liberal culture in Richmond during the last century: John Harvie, Mayor of the city, and Register of the Land Office, Colonel Thomas Mann Randolph of Tuckahoe, Edmund Randolph, Governor of the State, Colonel Archibald Cary, Speaker of the Senate; and among private citizens, Francis Dandridge, William Foushee, Robert Greenhow, Dr. James McClurg and a long list of others. In Petersburg he enumerates Mrs. Bolling, Dr. Shore, Mayor of the town, Colonel Banister, Dr. Robert Walker and Major Gibbon. In Norfolk, Colonel Parker, in Williamsburg, the Rev. Mr. Madison, president of the William and Mary College, Thomas Carter, General Gibson; and at Alexandria, Colonel Semmes and others. In order to convince the French public that he had the strongest social support in America, the chevalier referred to a great number of distinguished people in various American cities who had shown him encouragement.

His local lists of first families affords an interesting criterion of the cultivated society of the period immediately following the American Revolution. This clever, diplomatic Frenchman evidently had the social entreé wherever he went on his academic mission. He mentions among his friends in Philadelphia the Reeds, the Willings, the Rittenhouses, General Wayne and others of high respectability; in New Jersey, the Coxes, the De Harts and the Ogdens; in New York, Governor Clinton, General Courtland, the Livingstons, the Hoffmans and the Halletts. General Baron Von Steuben, an educated German, was the first citizen of New York who gave his support to the project. The Chevalier Quesnay's idea was clearly for some-

thing above the average college. He had in mind the highest special training of American students in the arts and sciences. The following extract from a letter written to Franklin (then in Paris) by his daughter shows how the proposed Academy was viewed by educated people at the time. The letter is here given in English, translated from the French version published in the memoir:

PHILA., *February 27, 1783.*

MY DEAR AND HONORED FATHER:

With this letter you will receive a project for a French Academy which is to be established here. It is a very extensive plan and will do honor to the gentleman who has designed it as well as to America. If it can be executed, it will in no way interfere with the plans of the colleges; it will be solely for the completion of the education of young men after they have graduated from college. Monsieur Quesnay regards you as the father of science in this country, and appreciates the advice and instruction which you have never failed to give those whose talents are worthy of recognition. Money is the one thing needful, but you will be informed how you can be most serviceable. I can conceive how occupied you must be in this important crisis; but as a mother who desires to give her children a useful and polite education and who will be especially proud to have them trained in her own country and under her own eyes, I pray you to give M. Quesnay all the assistance that may lie in your power. I will only add the love and respect of the family.

Your affectionate daughter,

SARA BACHE.

The name of Franklin was greatly revered in France at this time, and it was known that his influence with the French people in the interest of the scheme would have been very powerful.

Quesnay says in his memoir that he decided to establish his Academy at Richmond because his earliest associations and best friends were in this capital. The exact site of the Academy was long ago recorded by Samuel Mordecai, the Richmond antiquary, who probably saw the building with his own eyes. He says in his charming medley of Richmond history, the site chosen by M. Quesnay is the square on which the Monumental Church and Medical College now stand, the grounds extending from those lower points up Broad and Marshall to Twelfth street.

The proceedings connected with laying the corner-stone are described in the memoir and by the *Virginia Gazette* for July 1,

1786. On the 24th of June 1786, Quesnay had the satisfaction of witnessing the laying of the foundation with imposing ceremonies in the presence of a great concourse of citizens. The mayor of the city, the French consul and deputies of the French nation, were there to honor the occasion. Mordecai records that two silver plates were deposited in the corner-stone. On one was an inscription in Latin, on the other in French—the Latin translated reads thus: In the year of our Lord 1786, the 10th of the Republic, VIII calends of July, Patrick Henry being Governor of Virginia, the plan of an academy projected by Alexander Maria Quesnay and assisted by the liberality of many meritorious citizens, is at length consummated, the corner-stone was laid. John Harvie being mayor of the city.

The inscription on the other plate in French, contains the following: Corner-stone of an academy in the city of Richmond, Alexandria Maria Quesnay, president, laid by the officers and brethren of Lodge No. 13,[1] on the festival of St. John the Baptist,

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[1] The corner-stone of the State Capitol (August 18, 1785), that of the Masons' Hall at Richmond (October 12, 1785, the oldest standing building erected for Masonic purposes in North America), and of other public buildings were laid by this, the pioneer lodge of Richmond. It was first chartered December 28, 1780, as Richmond Lodge No. 13, and re-chartered in 1786 as No. 10, which designation it has since most honorably borne.

The capital of the State having been removed from Williamsburg to Richmond in 1779, hither was transferred the headquarters of the Grand Lodge of Masons, and Richmond Lodge, No. 13, became the most influential in the State in the sustenence and extension of the beneficent order. Its early membership of more than one hundred embraced many of the most distinguished men of Virginia, including many gallant officers of the Revolution. At the conclusion of the war for independence many of these last removed to the bounty lands awarded them for their patriotic services, and became the founders of Masonry in the South and West. Among the membership of Richmond Lodge, No. 10, may be enumerated Grand Masters—Alexander Montgomery, Edmund Randolph, John Marshall, Thomas Mathews, Samuel Jones, and Sidney S. Baxter; Grand Secretaries—Leighton Wood, W. Waddill, John Burke, Basil Wood, Nathaniel W. Price, John G. Williams and John Dove. It has also been numerously represented in the remaining offices of the Grand Lodge of Virginia. In the host of heroes of the Revolution it has held on its rolls is the re-

in the year of Light, 5786, and of the Vulgar Era, 1786. John Groves, Master; James Mercer, Grand Master; Edmund Randolph, Past Grand Master.

Having founded and organized the Academy under the most distinguished auspices, the Chevalier de Beaurepaire returned to Paris, and began an active social and scientific propaganda in the interest of his grand project for uniting intellectually America and France. He called upon the savants of Paris. He visited the studios of artists. He consulted every one whose opinion, good will or active co-operation was worth having. He was certainly successful in awakening the interest of the most influential people in the idea of establishing a French Academy in Richmond. As grandson of a distinguished scholar, and as a returned soldier of France, he was able to obtain access to the highest circles. His project was presented to the king and queen and to the royal family in a memoir published with the sanction of the royal censor. The most cultivated men of the time appear to have favored the undertaking. A commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris, signed by de La Lande, Lavoisier and others, and certified to by its secretary, the Marquis de Condorcet, reported favorably upon the memoir, as did also a similar commission of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, signed by Vernet and other eminent artists.

The published list of foreign associates of the Richmond Academy embraces the most distinguished French names of the time in art, science, literature, politics, together with representative men from England and the United States. French influence, however, predominated. Among the celebrities whose names are given in the memoir as associates of the Richmond Academy were the Marquis de Beaumarchais, the secretary of the king; Condorcet and Dacier, secretaries respectively of the

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vered name of La Fayette, and besides four Governors of Virginia—John Tyler, Sr., Edmund Randolph, Thomas Mann Randolph, and the unfortunate George William Smith (who perished in the burning of the Richmond Theatre, December 26, 1811), many others distinguished in the annals of Virginia and in the councils of the nation.

A history of the lodge is in preparation by a member, the present writer, for the publication of which it is hoped means will soon be provided—Ed.

Royal Academies of Science and Art; the Abbé de Bevi, historiographer of France; Marquis de la Fayette, then a marshal of the armies of the king; Houdon, the sculptor; Malesherbes, the minister of State; Lavoisier, the great chemist (the father of modern chemistry); Comte de La Luzerne, Secretary of State, Minister to United States; Marquis de La Luzerne, the royal ambassador to Great Britain; the Marquis de Montalembert, the Duc de La Rochefoucauld, and many others. Conspicuous as representatives of England and America were many names distinguished in science, art and letters. Jefferson who was living in Paris at this time as American Minister to France, is very prominently mentioned in the memoir as a supporter of the proposed academy. There is no doubt that Jefferson was thoroughly in favor of introducing the higher forms of French culture into Virginia. This was proved in 1795 by his correpondence with Washington as to the feasibility of removing bodily to Virginia the Swiss faculty of the College of Geneva.

It was in the polished circle of learned men of Paris that the Chevalier de Beaurepaire and Jefferson moved that the latter's ideas of university education assumed cosmopolitan form.

In 1788, provisional arrangements were made by Quesnay for instituting the following schools in the Virginia Academy: Foreign languages, mathematics, design, architecture civil and military, painting, sculpture, engraving, experimental physics, astronomy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, anatomy and natural history. The selection of suitable professors, masters and artists was intrusted to a committee of correspondence, established at Paris, and consisting of Quesnay, founder and president of the academy, of a permanent secretary, a treasurer-general and nine commissioners, elected from prominent members of the academy. The committee of correspondence was organized, but when it met appointed only one professsor. His name was Dr. Jean Rouelle, and he is described as a profound scholar and an experienced traveller, having a wide acquaintance with the natural sciences. He was assigned to the chair of chemistry and natural history, and instructed to form cabinets and collections for distribution in America and Europe. Dr. Rouelle was elected September 28, 1788, and was to have sailed for America the next month in October. At this time the prospect of appoint-

ing a numerous faculty became suddenly darker with the approach of the French Revolution. In the latter months of 1788, France was in no condition financially or socially for pushing this grand scheme in Virginia, the brilliant enterprise failed, but how or under what circumstances is not now to be discovered, unless among the court records of Louis XVI. The project attracted brief admiration and then sank into oblivion in the political maelstrom in which everything in France went down.

Had circumstances favored the establishment of the academy at Richmond, on the scale conceived by Quesnay, this city would have become not only the intellectual centre of the South and a great part of the North, but perhaps of the whole country. Supported by French capital, to which in a large measure we owe the success of the Revolutionary war, strengthened by French prestige, by literary, scientific and artistic associations with Paris, then the intellectual capital of the world, the academy at Richmond, as Adams truly says, might have become an educational stronghold comparable in some degree to the Jesuit influence in Canada, which has proved more lasting than French dominion, more impregnable than the fortress of Quebec.

But the worthy chevalier was far ahead of his times—more than a hundred years, as the absence of such an institution at this day proves.

The academy building in Richmond, according to that quaint antiquary Samuel Mordecai, became the property of some English actors, who converted it into a theatre. Here the tragic and the comic muse first excited the tears and smiles of a Richmond audience. But greater actors performed and a more glorious work was rehearsed in that theatre than in any other, either in this country or in Europe. It served a purpose which entitles it to a monumental place in the history of Virginia architecture.

Therein assembled that rare constellation of talent, of wisdom and of pure patriotism, the convention of sages and statesmen, who met to discuss the question of Federal Union, and who ratified the constitution of the United States.

RICHARD HEYWARD GAINES.

SOME UNPUBLISHED FACTS

RELATING TO

BACON'S REBELLION

ON THE

EASTERN SHORE OF VIRGINIA,

GLEANED FROM THE COURT RECORDS OF ACCOMAC COUNTY.

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 22, 1891,

BY PROFESSOR FRANK P. BRENT,

Onancock Academy, Virginia.

Some Unpublished Facts Relating to

BACON'S REBELLION

On the Eastern Shore of Virginia.

By general consent, the most important event in the history of the Colony of Virginia prior to the American Revolution was the rebellion led by Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., against Sir William Berkeley, the Royal Governor of the Colony. It was the first armed resistance offered by Americans to the constituted authorities of the mother country, and interest in the movement is still further enhanced by the fact that it occurred just one hundred years before the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

The ideas prevailing at that time among the English people were not very favorable to the heroic enterprise of the dauntless young rebel and his liberty-loving followers; yet the doctrine of the divine right of kings, so prevalent in the days of James the First, had received a rude shock in the execution of Charles the First, and in the iron rule of Cromwell and the Roundheads. Bacon's Rebellion occurred in Virginia at a time when the reaction against Puritanism was at its height, and when the withering invective and merciless ridicule heaped upon the Puritans by Samuel Butler in *Hudibras* was in the mouth of every cavalier in America as well as in England. The great principle had, however, been boldly proclaimed and successfully established that the English people would not again submit to the arbitrary and tyrannical rulers, and that the divine right to rule is inherent not in kings, but in the people.



Bacon's Rebellion was not an attempt to establish a new or independent form of government. It was an armed opposition to the policy of Sir William Berkeley, his Sacred Majesty's Governor and Captain-General of Virginia, having for its object the redress of certain pressing grievances under which the people of the Colony were then suffering. The Indian massacres on the frontiers and the governor's persistent refusal to take measures to punish the savages fanned into the flame of rebellion the discontent felt by the colonists in consequence of the oppressive navigation laws, by which England had created for herself a monopoly of the trade in all the Anglo-American colonies. With these two causes of discontent removed, the Rebellion of 1676 would have found but few adherents in any section of Virginia. There was one part of the Colony, which by reason of its remote and isolated situation and its peculiar geographical conditions suffered but little annoyance from the navigation laws and was entirely free from Indian incursions and massacres. This was the Eastern Shore of Virginia, frequently called by the old chroniclers "The Kingdom of Accomack." The purpose of this paper is to show by extracts from the early records of Accomac county court the part played by the people of that county in Bacon's Rebellion.

Our Virginia historians, following the highly-colored contemporaneous account of the Rebellion contained in the famous "T. M." manuscript,[1] have without exception misconceived and mis-stated the attitude of the Eastern Shore in this stirring episode of our colonial history. It is known that Sir William Berkeley, during the short period of the Rebellion, was twice driven from Jamestown, then the seat of government in the Colony, and forced to take shelter among his friends in Accomac, which he considered the last refuge of the loyal cause in Virginia. All the historians of Virginia agree in stating that Sir William Berkeley on arriving in Accomac, found all the people disaffected towards him except a few fellows of the baser sort, 'longshoremen and adventurers, whom a desire for plunder drew to follow

[1] The writer, who states "my dwelling was in Northumberland," has been held to be Thomas Matthews of "Cherrystone," in that county—Ed.

the fortunes of the impetuous old governor; and even Mr. George Bancroft, evidently following our Virginia authorities, informs us in his monumental work that "Sir William Berkeley collected in Accomac a crowd of base and cowardly followers, allured by the passion for plundering, promising freedom to the servants and slaves of the insurgents if they would rally to his banner" (*Vide* Bancroft's Hist., Vol. I, p. 465). An examination of the records of Accomac county court, covering the periods of Bacon's Rebellion, and the subsequent year will controvert the foregoing view and convince any unbiased mind that the people of Accomac received the Royal Governor with open arms, and hazarded their lives and fortunes for the success of his cause.

From these ancient records we learn that when the news of the Rebellion reached Accomac, steps were taken to increase the military forces of the county, and commissaries were commissioned and sent out to collect supplies for maintaining the governor's troops. The men engaged in these operations were among the best, wealthiest and most influential in the Colony, and the readiness with which the people responded to their demands shows how loyal the people of the Eastern Shore were to their governor, who, in their eyes at least, was more sinned against than sinning. With the exception of the orders for the raising of troops and the impressment of provisions, no mention is made of the Rebellion in the records that cover the period of hostilities. As Sir William Berkeley was present in Accomac the greater part of the time, he evidently took affairs into his own hands, and adopted such measures as he deemed best adapted to insure his own safety and the ultimate triumph of his fortunes. Hence we find that during the Rebellion the court records of Accomac are scanty. Of the proceedings of Sir William Berkeley and his council while on the Eastern Shore no record has been preserved, and it is not probable that any was made. As soon, however, as the Rebellion collapsed by reason of Bacon's untimely and mysterious death, and the civil courts resumed their duties, the old county records of Accomac teem with entries that fix the attitude of the Accomackians in the great struggle and attest the services rendered by them to the royal cause.

From a great number of similar items the following are extracted:

"At a court held for Accomac county July, 1677, it is ordered upon the peticon of John Sturges that a certificate be awarded him to the next assembly for fforty-six pounds of Butter and fforty-two pounds of Cheese, which was delivered for the countries service against the late Rebells, as appears by the attestation of Maj^{r} Jn^{o} West."

* * * * * * * * *

"Whereas Maj^{r} Edmund Bowman hath made it appeare to the court by y^{e} attestation of Major Jn^{o} West, that he had killed and founde salt and caske for thirteen hundred and twelve pounds of Beefe. It is, therefore, ordered that this be a certificate thereof to the next assembly."

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It is ordered upon the peticon of Maj^{r} Jn^{o} West for the sume of twelve thousand two hundred and fifty pounds of tob^{o} and cask, for the public service against the late rebells, and he having made oath to the same in open court, certificate thereof is accordingly granted him to the next assembly."

* * * * * * * * *

"Whereas, Mr. John Stratton hath made it appeare to this court by the oathe of cap^{n} Nath: Walker that hee the sd Walker did command a shallop belonging to the s^{d} Stratton by the honor^{ble} gover^{rs}, order in his majesties service against the late rebells; which shallop was cast away in a storm in Warricks creek bay: It is, therefore, ordered that this be a certificate thereof to the next assembly."

* * * * * * * * *

"These may certify that I, the subscriber, whom [sic] are impowered by the right hon^{ble} Sir William Berkeley Gov^{r}, and Cap^{n} general of Virginia to procure and impresse such provisions as shall be needful for his present service.

"These may certify that I have killed from Morris Dennis one Barren cow for which I give this certificate."

"JOHN STRATTON, *Commissary.*"

"At a court held and continued for Accomack county, September 14, 1677, upon the peticon of Majr Jno West in behalfe of himself and fforty-ffour men, more which were thirty-ffour daies under the command of the Governr Sir Wm Berkeley in his Majties service to James Citty, and having made oath to the same in open court certificate thereof is accordingly granted to ye next Assembly."

* * * * * * * * *

"Ye humble peticon of Jno Cropper

"To ye Worful court of Accomack county showeth that your peticonr being commanded and empowered by Coll. Southey Littleton, to impresse and provide Beefe for the countries use in qtr anno 1676, ye peticonr with his horse, &c, was employed and expended time to the number of fforty-two daies or thereabout which time trouble and service hath not bin got paid or any part thereof except two hides and offell he made use of Mr Richd Dayly ye peticonr doth pray ye worshps order for certificate to the Assembly to have satisfaction for sd time and trouble according to nature thereof, and he will pray, &c."

Many other similiar certificates were granted by the county court to prove the services rendered by Accomac soldiers in defence of Berkeley's cause under such distinguished leaders as Captain William Whittington, Captain Daniel Jenifer, Major John West, Major Edmund Bowman, Colonel Southey Littleton and Colonel Edmund Scarburgh, all of whom were leading men in Accomac and some of them among the most prominent men in the Colony.

Another entry in these old records, about the same time, reveals the fact that during the latter part of the year 1676 a hospital was established at the house of Henry Reade in the lower part of Accomac, where the sick and wounded from Berkeley's forces were received and carefully treated. After the Rebellion was ended, Sir William Berkeley, according to all our historians, left nothing undone to punish those who had taken sides with Bacon; and the following extract taken from the old county court records of Accomac, will show that he in punishing his enemies, he did not forget to reward his friends:

"By his Majesties Governr and Captain Generall of Virginia.

"Whereas, Capt. Daniel Jenifer of Accomac county of Virginia hath fully approved himself a good and loyall subject of his Most Sacred Maj^{ties} Gov^{r}, being always ready to serve and obey me his Maj^{ties} Gov^{r} in suppressing the present Rebellion, and understanding the said Capt. Jenifer was added to the Commision for the peace for the s^{d} County, I doe appoint the s^{d} Capt. Jenifer to be the next Court held for the s^{d} County, admitted to the same place he was put in the s^{d} Commission, he first taking the oathe of allegiance and the oathe of a justice of the peace."

"Given under my hand this y^{e} 8th day of December, in the eighth and twentieth yeare of the raigne of our Sovereigne Lord King Charles the Second, Annoque Dom., 1676."

"WILLIAM BERKELEY."

An entry made at the next term of the court shows that Captain Daniel Jenifer, in addition to his office of justice of the peace was still further rewarded by being appointed high sheriff of Accomac county by Sir William Berkeley, and as Jenifer was a Catholic, the governor directed that in assuming the duties of the offices to which he had appointed him, he should not be required to take the oath of supremacy, which was accordingly done. He was also, together with Col. Southey Littleton, of Berkeley's court martial, for trying persons for participation in the Rebellion. *Vide* Hening, Vol. II, p. 545.

Jenifer married Miss Annie Toft, who was reputed to have been the wealthiest and prettiest woman then living on the Eastern Shore of Virginia. She owned an immense landed estate in the northeastern part of Accomac. They had a numerous family of children, among whom were three daughters named Arcadia, Annabella and Atalanta. Soon after the retirement and death of Sir William Berkeley, Captain Jenifer removed from Accomac to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where many of his descendants are said to be now living. He was the first of that name to come to America, and was the progenitor of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, who was one of the delegates from Maryland to the convention that framed the Federal Constitution.

Berkeley's endorsement on the following petition shows that the Rebellion had not entirely transformed him into a brute.

"*To the Right Honorable S'r Wm. Berkeley, Knt., Gov'r & Capt. Gener'll of Virginia:*

"The humble peticon of Ione Occahone, the widdow of Phillip Occahone, late of Accomack County, dec'd, Humbly Sheweth: That Phillip aforenamed marrying y^e^ peticon^r^ with a good and reasonable estate left by her former husband, of Watt's Island, in the aforesaid county, by name Walter Taylor, did in his life-time wholly waste and conferred the same moreover and about, running himself farr into debt to the utter ruine of y^e^ peticon^r^ and her poore childring.

"Howsoe it is, may it please y^e^ Honour^ble^ the s^d^ Phillip for his felonious and rebellious account having justly suffered death by the law, whereby what estate he should be possest withal at the committing the fact were forfeited to his Majestie, when in truth he were not at the time of committing the fact or any time sithence invested or possest w^th^ any visible estate whatsoever, yet notwithstanding, y^e^ poore peticon^r^ is prosecuted and sued by the creditors of the s^d^ Phillip to the ruine of herselfe and poore children.

"The premises considered, y^e^ peticon^r^ doth humbly pray and implore y^e^ Honour^bles^ favorable clemency in requiring and commanding all persons whatsoever to desist and forbeare to sue or molest y^e^ pet^r^ for any debt whatsoever contracted in the life-time of the aforesaid Phillip Occahone, her late dec'd husband, and y^e^ poore pet^r^ shall as in duty bound ever pray."

The petition is recorded with the following endorsement:

"The aforesaid petition is granted, and I doe hereby forbid all persons from suing or molesting the aforesaid Ione Occahone in the prosecuting and recovery of any debt contracted during the lifetime of the s^d^ Phillip Occahone, as they will answer the contrary.

"Dated this 11th day of January, $167\frac{6}{7}$

"WM. BERKELEY."

"The Right Honour^ble^ the Govern^r^ further declared at the signing hereof that the aforesaid Pet^r^ Ione Occahone should freely enjoy all such estate as is in her present possession to her

own proper use, which I can testify upon oath when thereunto required.

"Witness my hand the day and year aforesaid.

"DANIEL JENIFER."

The foregoing petition contains the only mention to be found in the Accomac records of anyone being put to death for participation in Bacon's Rebellion, though all the Virginia Historians agree in saying that the brave old Carver, who was captured with Giles Bland, was executed somewhere on the Accomac shore, and that Colonel Hansford, after his arrest, was carried to Accomac and hanged as a rebel and traitor.

The document which above all others fixes beyond a doubt the attitude of the Eastern Shore people in Bacon's Rebellion is the memorial addressed to Sir William Berkeley by the justices of the peace and other leading citizens of Accomac shortly after the cessation of hostilities, asking for certain favors he had promised them in consideration of their loyalty:

"Wee his Majesties Justices here underwritten, and others, the Inhabitants of Accomack County, in obedience to his most sacred Majesties command directing us to send over to them sealed all grievances and pressures, especially such as have been the grounds of the late troubles and disorders among us, being deeply sensible of the Late Rebellion hatched and acted on the Western Shoare by Nath. Bacon, dec'd, and complices, to our great prejudices, expenses and losse of many men and crops by watching and warding on all parts of the Shoare to hinder the Landing and invasion of the said Rebells on our coast, where we had received into our protection the bodies of the Right Honour^ble^ S^r^ Wm. Berkeley and severall other good and Loyall subjects of his Maj^ty^, fled to our parts from the fury and rage of the said Bacon & Complices, doe

"First, hereby acknowledge that we nor any of us knew any reason for any such Rebellion, & some or all of us did protest against his actions as rebellions.

"Secondly, We humbly desire his Maj^ty^ to continue S^r^ Wm. Berkeley Gover^r^ in Virginia as long as God shall spare him life.

"Thirdly, Whereas the Right Honour^ble^ S^r^ Wm. Berkeley, upon his first coming to us and our readinesse to assist him to

the hazard of our own lives and fortunes against the said Rebell Bacon & complices, did promise as well our county of Accomack as the rest of the Eastern Shoare in Virginia should bee free from all county tax for these twenty-one years ensuing.

"Wee humbly therefor pray y^e^ Honour^bles^ to be a means the same may be confirmed first in Virginia and afterwards by his Maj^ties^ Royall grant.

"Fourthly, Whereas wee are deeply sensible of the vast charge this unhappy warr and Rebellion hath put the country to, and it may be expected to be defrayed out of the country: Wee desire wee may be excluded from all and every part of the same, wee being in no way the cause of it.

"Lastly, Whereas we have been informed that his Royall Maj^ty^ hath or was about to give the country their Quit Rents for many yeares to come, wh: wee doubt this unhappy warr hath now broke off, we humbly desire it may still remaine good to us, as being in no way the cause or knowing of the same, to wh: wee subscribe o^r^ hands in open court, and pray for his Maj^ties^ and ye Honour^ble^ Govern^rs^ health long to continue.

[Signed]

EDM'D BOWMAN,
ROBT. HUTCHINSON,
WILLLIAM WHITTINGTON,
JNO. WISE,
THO. RIDING,
RICH. HILL,
EDM'D SCARBURGH,
JNO. WALLOP,
OBEDIENCE JOHNSON,
& many others."

The names attached to the foregoing memorial afford a sufficient guarantee for the truth of all the statements it contains. They are the names of the foremost men then living on the Eastern Shore. The limits assigned this paper will permit a brief mention of only two of them—John Wise, Esq., and Colonel Edmund Scarburgh.

John Wise, the first of that name who came to Virginia, was the progenitor of an illustrious line of descendants, of whom the late Governor Henry A. Wise was one. He owned a vast

landed estate, much of which he is said to have obtained from an Indian king for the consideration of two common blankets. He was a man of great ability, indomitable energy, dauntless courage, and strict integrity. His will, preserved in one of the old record books of the county court of Accomac, is a curious and novel document, the greater portion of it being devoted to the disposition of his "immortal soul."

The most unique and picturesque personage on the Eastern Shore at the time of Bacon's Rebellion was Colonel Edmund Scarburgh. He was Speaker of the House of Burgesses, a member of the Governor's Council and Surveyor General of the Colony. His stout loyalty to the cause of Charles the First and the English Church had gotten him into trouble with the Virginia Colonial Government during the times of the Commonwealth, and Bennett who was Governor of Virginia at the time, came to the Eastern Shore with an armed force to suppress the disturbances which Scarburgh had caused among the adherents to the royal cause. Later on when Charles the Second came to the throne Colonel Scarburgh was reinstated in the position of Surveyor-General of the Colony, and made commander of his majesty's forces on the Eastern Shore. In 1663, shortly after the Eastern Shore had been divided into the two counties of Accomac and Northampton, Colonel Scarburgh by order of Sir William Berkeley and the House of Burgesses, made an expedition against the recalcitrant and rebellious Quakers in the northern part of Accomac. His report of his proceedings on that occassion is to be found in the oldest record book of Accomac county court, and is justly regarded as one of the most interesting and remarkable documents of our early Colonial history. He appears to have impressed his strong personality on his generation more than any other man of his day. In every part of the Eastern Shore traditions of his remarkable performances survive among all classes of people. He was the first of his name to come to Virginia, and from him have descended some of the most eminent men of the State.

Strange to say, no trace of any tradition touching Bacon's Rebellion survives among the people of the Eastern Shore. It is not even known where Berkeley had his headquarters while sojourning there, though indications seem to point to the ancient

village of Pungoteaque, which was then the seat of the county government. If, as Virginia historians tell us, the gallant and heroic Hansford paid the penalty of his devotion to the cause of liberty on the scaffold in Accomac, every tradition of the horrid deed has perished from the memory of living men.

FRANK P. BRENT.

Onancock Academy, Virginia.

THOMAS HANSFORD,

First Native Martyr to American Liberty.

A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society
Tuesday, December 22, 1891,

BY

MRS. ANNIE TUCKER TYLER,
Williamsburg, Virginia.

THOMAS HANSFORD,

THE

First Native Martyr to American Liberty.

In a list prepared by Sir William Berkeley, and preserved among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, enumerating the persons who were executed by him in the seventeenth century for participating in Bacon's Rebellion, occurs the name of one Thomas Hansford, who is described by Sir William as "a valiant, stout man," and "a most resolved rebel."[1] The few other references to Hansford in the current accounts[2] of the times are in harmony with this description, and justify a natural desire to be still further acquainted with him.

Thus are we told that he commanded at Jamestown, under a commission as major from Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., and was there when Berkeley returned from his exile to the Eastern Shore at the head of six hundred, or, as another account has it, one thousand followers. It is said that he took a conspicuous part in the insurrection, brilliant as it was brief, and when he was captured after Bacon's death, he supplicated no other favor than that "he might be shot like a soldier, and not hanged like a dog." We are also told that during the short respite allowed him after his sentence, "he professed repentance and contrition for all the sins of his past life, but refused to acknowledge what was

[1] Neill's *Virginia Carolorum.*

[2] Accounts by "T. M.," Anne Cotton, &c.

charged against him as rebellion to be one of those sins, desiring the people present to take notice that he died a loyal subject and lover of his country, and that he had never taken up arms but for the destruction of the Indians, who had murdered so many Christians."

St. George Tucker, my revered father, trusting to the statement found in one of the quaint old tracts rescued from oblivion by the indefatigable antiquarian, Peter Force, which ascribes his arrest to the fact that "although a son of Mars, he did sometimes worship at the shrine of Venus," made Thomas Hansford the hero of a romance[3] in which the gentle Virginia Temple was the innocent cause of his undoing.

When I recite the personal history of Hansford, and disclose the fact that he was a married man, it will probably occasion some surprise that he should have been represented as an ardent suitor at the time of his execution, but the truth is, that until a recent date there was very little reality surrounding Hansford's career. Nor was he an exception among the characters of the period in which he figured. How few and scant are the published facts concerning another of Bacon's officers, Major Edmund Chisman, and his noble wife, who took upon herself the entire blame of his sedition; or of Major Thomas Whaley and "thoughtful Mr. Lawrence," who when the cause was abandoned plunged into the snows of the unknown backwoods and were lost to the knowledge of their fellow men. The old published chroniclers tell us very little of Bacon himself, and yet, thanks to recent investigations in the county records and the British archives, the material is now abundant for a full account.

In the same manner careful research has added many new facts to the current account of Thomas Hansford, and the only merit of this paper is that it will attempt to present these facts in a connected narrative.

In 1651, Richard Hansford was granted a patent for lands at West's creek, in York county, and among the head rights were John and Elizabeth Hansford. In 1658, Mr. John Hansford entered land in the same locality; and in 1662, Thomas Hansford

[3] Thomas Hansford: A tale of Bacon's Rebellion, published by Geo. M. West, Richmond, Va., 1857; republished after the war by a Philadelphia firm, under the title "The Devoted Bride."

obtained a re-grant for the same. In 1653, John Hansford obtained a grant for 950 acres in Gloucester county, north of the narrows of Mattaponi, and among the head rights were John and Elizabeth Hansford. The probability is that Richard Hansford was a brother of John Hansford, who was the father of Thomas, mentioned as taking out the patent in 1662 for John Hansford's land on West's creek.[4]

John Hansford might have been a son of the merchant tailor of London of the same name mentioned by Mr. Alexander Brown in his "Genesis," as entered in a list of the Virginia Company in 1620, and who was probably brother of Sir Humphrey Hanford, Handford, or Hanforth, as the name is variously written.

There is no question, however, that the John Hansford of the patents and the John Hansford who was father of the Hansford of history, were one and the same person. He lived on the same creek and in the same county, and was for many years active in the affairs of York county,[5] and in 1655 occupied a seat on the Justices' Bench. His will was proved November 24, 1661, and judging from the number of servants and the amount of silver plate, and other property mentioned in his inventory, recorded June 24, 1668, he was a man of both wealth and position. According to his will he left four sons—John and William, to whom he devised a plantation in Gloucester county, upon the "Clay bank" on the north side of York river, and Thomas and Charles, to whom he left 650 acres at the head of Felgate's creek, in York county. He had also three daughters—Elizabeth, who married first Mr. Christian Wilson and afterwards Mr. Randolph Holt,[6] of Surry county; Mary, who married Dr. Thomas Robins, of Robins' Neck, in Gloucester county, and whose family history is given by Mr. Stanard in the "Richmond Critic" for August, 1889; and Margaret, who is supposed to have been dead before October, 1667.

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[4] See Register in Land Office.

[5] John Hansford appears as an inhabitant of Chiskiack, subsequently called Hampton Parish, in York county, as early as 1647.

[6] See Randolph Holt's receipt to Mr. Lockey, October 20, 1663, York Records. [The name is sometimes rendered Randall Holt—Ed.]

By the will of Mr. Hansford we are shown another important fact, which is that one Robert Jones was the instructor of his children; and it is not a little remarkable that a man of that name is mentioned by Hening as among those executed with Thomas Hansford for rebellious proceedings.[7]

Thomas Hansford, the third son of Mr. John Hansford, was born about 1646, as I infer from his deposition, dated January 9, 167½, which states that he was then twenty-five years old. He came into possession of his property, both real and personal, November 12, 1667, and the order states that "he was then of age."

After his father's death he was under the guardianship of Mr. Edward Lockey, a rich merchant of Virginia, largely interested in the tobacco trade, who had married Mrs. Hansford, the mother of Thomas, on October 10, 1661. Both were dead before the disturbances under Bacon arose. Mr. Lockey died before February 24, 1667, and Mrs. Lockey before January 24, 167 5-6, these being the respective dates of the recording of their wills.[8]

Notwithstanding the testimony of Romance, which represents Thomas Hansford as a single man at the time of his execution, we find the court, on April 10, 1667, entering an order against Mr. John Roberts, guardian of Mistress Elizabeth Jones, daughter of Richard Jones,[9] deceased, to deliver his ward's estate in kind to Thomas Hansford as intermarrying with the said Elizabeth." This Elizabeth had two brothers, Gabriel[10] and Richard, but they soon died without issue and she became sole heiress of her father's property, thus bringing a considerable fortune to her husband.

Hansford's marriage occurred nine years before Bacon's Rebellion, and his family at that time was of considerable figure, consisting of a wife and five children.

During these nine years we catch an occasional glimpse of him in the courts. A deposition, in June, 1668, declares that

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[7] Hening, Vol. II, p. 550.

[8] York county records.

[9] Richard Jones' will proved 12 November, 1660.

[10] Will proved January 10, 1670.

passing by the cow-pen he tauntingly bid "Ann Huddlestone's Dame" to go and rob the onion patch again. "Can you prove your words?" she indignantly said. "Yes," was the reply. He was sued for defamation of character. After the same manner, he accused Dr. William Townsend of purloining from Squire Digges's old field a foal which he himself had branded for Digges. In another suit he won 200 pounds of tobacco from Abraham Ray for damages done his (Hansford's) horse. And Thomas Reade, his servant, who ran away, was required by the court to make equivalent service for the cost and trouble of his capture.

The uprising of the people at the call of Nathaniel Bacon, Jr., summoned Hansford to more serious controversies; but here, I regret to say, we cannot add much to what is already familiarly known. We are aware that many of the leading gentry adhered to Governor Berkeley, but not all, as in York county both Thomas Hansford and Major Edmund Chisman were trusted officers of Bacon, who was himself of the ancient house of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam. Certain, it is, that both sides plundered and pillaged private estates, and a guerrilla warfare prevailed through all the colony. Hansford, according to Robert Beverley,[11] was commander-in-chief of four counties and president of the Court of Sequestrations. Probably it was while engaged one day in looking up the sequestered estate of a Royalist that he met up with the gallant Captain William Digges, eldest son of Colonel Edward Diggs, of Bellfield, in York county, and in a single-handed fight with him was so unfortunate as to lose one of his fingers. Digges forced him to fly, but the tables were turned shortly after, and Digges had himself to flee to Maryland for safety. The writer of the MS.[12] from which this fact is gleaned adds that "for her son's loyalty his mother (Mrs. Elizabeth Digges) suffered considerably in her estate."

I do not propose to give a history of the Rebellion. Just at the time when Virginia acknowledged no other authority than Bacon's, he was taken ill and died, and thus the cause which he

[11] Hening's Statutes, Vol. III, p. 567.

[12] In Virginia State Library.

represented received a fatal blow. Berkeley re-established his authority as rapidly as he had lost it. Some of the lieutenants of Bacon were hanged, others died in prison, and others left the colony. Hansford was one of those who suffered the first-mentioned fate, and is said to have been the first native Virginian that perished in that ignominious form, and the first martyr that fell in defending the rights of the people. His execution took place in Accomac.[13]

From June, 1676, the beginning of the conflict, to March, 167$\frac{6}{7}$, when the end had came, there appears to have been no court held in York county, as far as the records testify. Bacon had compelled the justices, in the celebrated meeting at the Middle Plantation, to administer to the people the oath of allegiance to his cause; and in a letter dated February 17, 167$\frac{6}{7}$, they now besought the Governor to "indemnify" them by name for obeying the mandate, and to indicate "who should be justices for York county."

The Governor, on March 23d, immediately re-appointed all except John Scarsbrooke, whose case was reserved for the decision of the Council on account of suspicions, connecting him with the rebellion. And on March 31st, he further ordered that the sessions of the county court should be held "in the house lately belonging to Thomas Hansford, whose estate for his rebellion and treason is forfeited to his sacred Majesty."[14] So said Governor Berkeley, but it appears, however, that the property of Thomas Hansford was not confiscated. In spite of a formal petition (addressed to the commissioners sent over from England to enquire into the late disturbances) by the justices of York county, John Page, John Scarsbrooke (lately restored), James Vaulx, Otho Thorpe and Isaac Clopton, that the property of Hansford should be seized for a courthouse, the want of which in the county had annually imposed a heavy burden in the way of rent upon the people, the commissioners, with a humanity which did them credit, reported to the king in favor of bestowing the

[13] He was captured by Major Robert Beverley, at the house of Colonel George Reade, deceased, situated where Yorktown now is. Colonel Reade had been a member of the Council.

[14] York county records.

property of Hansford and "those other wretched" men lately associated with him upon "their poor wives and children."[15] And this was doubtless the explanation why, on November 13, 1678, "a commission of administration on the estate of Mr. Thomas Hansford was granted to Mr. Charles Hansford and Mr. David Condon in behalf of ye decedent's children, &c."

Previous to this the same parties had qualified on the estate of Mrs. Thomas Hansford, who within a year had followed her martyred husband to the grave.

An agreement, dated February 26, 1677–'78, was made between the administrators and the justices representing the county, by which the house "lately belonging to Mrs. Hansford" was leased to the county for one thousand pounds of tobacco per annum—an arrangement which continued until January 20, 1679–'80, when the place of adjournment was changed to the "French Ordinary," not far distant on the York road, half way between Williamsburg and Yorktown.

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[15] The petition of the Justices ran as follows: "And whereas Thomas Hansford suffered death as a traitor and thereby forfeited his Land to the King, the Court humbly prays the seventy acres of Land given him by his ffather's will to build a courthouse for the use of the said county forever, having been formerly forced to pay 4000 lb. of Tob yearly, w'ch hath been very burthensome to the county.

(Signed,) "JOHN PAGE,
"JOHN SCARSBROOKE,
"JAMES VAULX,
"OTHO THORPE,
"ISAAC CLOPTON."

On which the commissioners reported:

"We humbly hope that his Majesty will be gratuitously pleased to give the Estate of these wretched men to there poore wives and children, w'ch will be an act of great mercy."

A petition from the inhabitants of another county prayed that "this present grand assembly would make an act of oblivion that no person may be Injured by the provoking names of Rebells, Traitors and Rogues." To which the commissioners, Sir John Berry, Colonel Herbert Jeffreys and Colonel Francis Morrison, added: "We Joyne w'th the Petitioners herein to his Majesty that noe pretence may obstruct the obtaining and good effect of it, and thus wee have layd it most humbly before his Ma'ty as a most likely means to secure the quiet of his s'd Colony." MSS. in Virginia State Library.

Of the children of Thomas Hansford, John was afflicted and died in 1681. Elizabeth married Richard Burt, Mary married William Hewitt, and Thomas and William married and died in York county leaving descendants.

The will of Thomas Hansford's son, William Hansford, was recorded July 24, 1709, and mentions a wife, Mary, who seems to have been a sister of David Morce, called in the will "brother-in-law," and three sons, William, Thomas, and David, and one daughter, Elizabeth, all under age.

The will of the other son, Thomas, was recorded June 20, 1720, and his children were Thomas and William, Elizabeth, Sarah, Mary, and Martha Hansford. William died in 1733, and left a wife, Mary, and son, Lewis who had four sons living in 1765.[16] Mary Steele, in her will proved in York county court, July 20, 1767, calls Lewis Hansford her son-in-law. Thomas was living in 1736.[17]

Charles Hansford, youngest brother of Major Thomas Hansford, married Elizabeth Moody, daughter of Rev. Edward Foliott, of Hampton Parish, and relict of Josias Moody, son of Dr. Giles Modé, a Frenchman, whose name was corrupted into Moody, and who is the founder of that family in Virginia. He left, in 1702,[18] three sons, Charles, William and John, and four daughters, Elizabeth and Mary Hansford, Lydia Duke, wife of "Mr. Henry Duke," and Martha, who married Samuel Hill. Of these John long kept an ordinary at the half-way house between Williamsburg and Yorktown. Charles Hansford, the second[19] of that name, had issue, a daughter Lucy, who married John Hyde, and a son also, named Charles. The third Charles lived till 1778, and on the 21st December, 1778, his

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[16] Dr. Lewis Hansford, of Norfolk, was alive in 1805.

[17] Thomas Hansford, of Elizabeth City, married Hannah, daughter of John Davis, and a granddaughter of John R. Davis (who died in 1784), a lieutenant in the State navy during the Revolution. On 18th December, 1784, a Thomas Hansford obtained a license in York county to marry "Elizabeth Lilburne, widow."

[18] Charles Hansford's will was proved July 24, 1702.

[19] Charles Hansford's will was proved June 15, 1761. The York county records mention Charles Hansford and Susannah his wife executors of Joseph Wade.

will was proved in York county court. He left two sons, Richard and Benjamin, and three daughters—Elizabeth or Betsy, who in 1769 married[20] John Camm, the treasurer of the College of William and Mary, and afterwards president of the same; Mary, who in July, 1775, married[21] Rev. Samuel Sheild, minister of Drysdale parish, in Caroline county, and Martha, who married Edward Harwood, and subsequently Robert Sheild, of York county, brother of said Samuel, and great-grandfather of William H. Sheild, M. D., assistant physician at the Eastern Lunatic Asylum.

As to the Gloucester branch of the Hansford family, William, elder brother of Major Thomas Hansford, had a son William living there in 1706.[22]

The Hansford blood mingles with that of the Pattesons, Camms, Hydes,[23] Hills, Custises, and many other well-known families in Virginia to-day.[24]

This ends my paper. Genealogical investigations, though necessarily personal, are nevertheless valuable. A people without pride in their past are no people at all. And I cordially echo the sentiment expressed by Professor Garnett in his excellent paper read last night: "Perish the day when the son forgets the father."

ANNIE TUCKER TYLER.

[20] *Virginia Gazette.*

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] York county records. Petsoe Parish Vestry-Book.

[23] Dr. John Hansford Hyde died in Lexington, Va., April 1, 1851. Captain Robert Hyde served in the Revolutionary army as an artificer; came to Richmond in 1788.

[24] Charles Hansford, at present living in Williamsburg, is descended from Charles, brother of Major Thomas Hansford. His father was Benjamin Hansford, who married Sarah Wynne; grandfather, Richard Hansford, who married Lucy Dudley Haynes.

JOURNAL

OF

CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS

OF

The Virginia Regiment,

COMMANDED BY

Colonel George Washington

IN THE

EXPEDITION AGAINST THE FRENCH,

October 10—December 27,

1755.

JOURNAL

OF

CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS.

OCTOBER 10—DECEMBER 10, 1755.[1]

October 10th, 1755—Left Fredericksburg under the command

[1] The original of the "Journal" is in the possession of Thomas Waring Lewis, Esq., of "Mansfield," Essex county, Virginia, who thus states his descent from its writer, Captain (subsequently known as Colonel) Charles Lewis: "I am a great-grandson of Colonel Charles Lewis, of 'Cedar Creek,' Caroline county, Virginia, who was the brother of Colonel Fielding Lewis, of Fredericksburg, and the son of John Lewis, of 'Warner Hall,' Gloucester county, and of Frances *neé* Fielding, and who was a grandson of John Lewis and Elizabeth, his wife, a daughter of the Hon. Augustine Warner, of Gloucester county, who was a Member of the Council and Speaker of the House of Burgesses. His daughter, Mildred Warner, was the wife of Lawrence Washington, and General George Washington was thus the cousin of Fielding, Colonel Charles, and Warner Lewis, of 'Warner Hall.' Colonel Charles Lewis was a vestryman of St Mary's parish, a justice of the peace, and a Burgess for Caroline county. He was with Washington at Braddock's defeat. He died just before 'the glorious Revolution of 1776.'"

A copy of the original was kindly made for the editor in April, 1891, by Mr. William L. Lewis, a son of its present owner. The original commander of the Virginia forces in the expedition against the French in 1754 was Colonel Joshua Fry, who, dying May 31st, whilst conducting it to the Ohio river, was succeeded in the command by the Lieutenant-Colonel George Washington.

A special value of the paper is in the list given of the officers of the Virginia regiment, for which there has been repeated inquiry by historical students. If in print, the publication containing it seems not to be known.

of Major Andrew Lewis,[2] with eighty men. Crossed the Rappahannock at the falls. The men being most of them drunk. We marched but seven miles to Pickets; very bad entertainment; no water to be had for the soldiers. This night two of my company deserted. The expenses, 4s. 5½d. Seven miles.

October 11th—This day I was ordered to march before the company to one Martin Hardin's, to provide provisions. I shot a bullock and provided a plenty of bread in the evening. The company came up in high spirits. Here we had good entertainment, a merry landlady and daughter. Expenses, 6½s. Eighteen miles.

October 12th—This day Major Lewis and Captain H. Woodward,[3] went before to provide for the company and left me the

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[2] Andrew Lewis, son of John and Margaret (Lynn) Lewis, pioneer settlers of Augusta county, Virginia, was born in Ulster, Ireland, in 1720; with Washington at the surrender of Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754; in the company of his brother, Samuel, at Braddock's defeat; commanded the Sandy Creek Expedition in 1756, and in the unfortunate expedition of Major Grant in 1758, was made prisoner and taken to Montreal. In the same year he was a commissioner to treat with the Six Nations at Fort Stanwix; made a brigadier-general in 1774, and commanded the Virginia troops at the battle of Point Pleasant, October 10th, gaining a victory over the most formidable Indian force which ever opposed the whites in Virginia; a representative of Botetourt county in the Virginia Assembly, and a member of the Conventions of March and June, 1775; commissioned colonel and promoted brigadier-general, but declined April 5, 1777. He drove Lord Dunmore from Gwynn's Island, and was on duty in the lower part of the State, where he contracted a fever of which he died September 25, 1781, at the residence of Captain Talbott, in Bedford county, and was interred on Thursday following, the 27th instant, "beside his younger brother, Charles," in the burial-ground on his farm, "Dropmore," on Roanoke river near Salem, Roanoke county.

Samuel, Thomas, and Charles, brothers of General Andrew Lewis, were severally distinguished in the annals of Virginia, and have been worthily represented in succeeding generations.

[3] Henry Woodward, was an Englishman, who was first appointed lieutenant upon the recommendation of James Abercromby, and subsequenty promoted. He was voted thanks and a gratuity of £30 by the Assembly for gallantry at Fort Necessity. He was present at the defeat of Braddock.

command of the men. Took on the march a deserter and a drunken school-master. Arrived in the evening at Nevils.[4] Bread very scarce. Lieutenant Lowry sent out to purchase meal and potatoes. We made a good shift. Eighteen miles.

October 13th—Marched from Nevil's, and crossed the Ridge at Ashby's Gap. I was this day sent forward to provide for the men. Provision plenty. This day's march was very tedious, being cold and rainy, and the men very ill-clothed. They came up with me about 8 o'clock at night very much fatigued, having marched this day twenty-five miles.

October 14th—This day we marched cheerfully, having but eighteen miles to Winchester. We arrived about 3 o'clock, and joined the Hon'ble George Washington, Commander of the Virginia Regiment, and Captain George Mercer, A. D. C., with other officers and about forty men. Eighteen miles.

From Fredericksburg,	7	. .	miles to	Picket's.
" Picket's,	18	. .	"	Hardin's.
" Hardin's,	18	. .	"	Nevil's.
" Nevil's,	25	. .	"	Woods'.
" Wood's,	18	. .	"	Winchester.
	86 miles from Fred'b'rg to Winchester.			

October 15th—Viewed the town.

October 16th—Rested.

October 17th—Rainy, and very unpleasant weather.

October 18th—Orders to make ready for marching to Fort Cumberland.

October 19th—Made ready. This day we had a remarkable battle between two of our servants.

October 20th—We left Winchester under the command of Major Andrew Lewis, and marched ten miles to Captain Smith's, a very remarkable man. I was this day appointed captain over forty-one men of different companies. A remarkable dispute between Lieutenant Steenberger and an Irish woman. Ten miles.

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[4] Neville's.

October 21st—Marched from Captain Smith's, and crossed great Cape Capon. A beautiful prospect, and the best land I ever yet saw. We encamped this night on the top of a mountain. The roads were by far the worst this day, and our march was for that reason but thirteen miles. Our men, nevertheless, were in high spirits. About 8 o'clock this night a soldier's musket went off in the middle of our encampment without any damage. I think I saw this day some of the most delightful prospects I ever did. Thirteen miles.

October 22d—This day we marched from Sandy Top Mountain to little Cape Capon. The land very good. We encamped this night at a poor man's house, entirely forsaken, and the people driven off by the Indians. We found here a plenty of corn, oats, and stock of all kinds ; even the goods and furniture of the house were left behind. This night about 9 o'clock we were joined by the Hon'ble Colonel George Washington and Captain George Mercer, A. D. C. Fifteen miles.

October 23d—Very bad weather ; snow and rain. We marched very slow to-day, and arrived at the South Branch, where we encamped at a house on the branch, having come up with Colonel George Washington and Captain Mercer, A. D. C. Nine miles. Very ill-natured people here.

October 24th—A very wet day. We marched to Patterson's Creek, on which we encamped, in a house deserted. We found here good corn, wheat, and pasturage. Before we marched we discharged our pieces, being wet, and charged them, in expectation of seeing the enemy. Colonel Washington marched before with Captain Ashby's company of Rangers. Fourteen miles.

October 25th—Marched from Patterson's Creek. Passed many deserted houses. I was this day very curious in the examination of the mischief done in the houses, and was much shocked at the havoc made by the barbarous, cruel Indians at one Mecraggin's. I found the master of the family, who had been buried but slightly by his friends after his assassination, half out of the grave, and eaten by the wolves ; the house burnt, the corn-field laid waste, and an entire ruin made. At half-past 6 we arrived at Fort Cumberland, cold and hungry. We had this day, by Major Lewis's order, two women ducked for robbing the deserted houses. Twenty miles.

10+13+15+9+14+20=81.

From Winchester, 81 miles to Fort Cumberland.
" Fred'b'rg, 86 " Winchester.

167 " Fort Cumberland.

October 26th—This day Lieutenant Walter Stewart[5] showed me the fort.

'Tis a Quad^r^ fort, with four Bast^ns^; about one hundred feet in the square; has eleven four pounders and two smaller, mounted. 'Tis situated on the north side of the Potomack, in Maryland, on a hill; very pleasant: more so, I think, than advantageous; has a romantick prospect from the mountains, and is very healthy. I was this day ordered to return to Fredericksburg, but my horses being tired, I was excused.

October 27th, 28th, 29th, 30th—Nothing remarkable.

October 31st—An Irishman arrived at the fort with two scalps. It seems he was the Sunday before taken prisoner by a party of fifty-two Indians, and being left in custody of two while the party proceeded towards the inhabitants, he with his guard arrived at the Shenandoah camp, and encamped in a house deserted. About 11 o'clock he was ordered to make up the fire, but denying to do so, was threatened the tomahawk; but accidentally casting his eyes on an axe in the house very convenient to him, he, with it, beat out the brains of the Indian next to him, and with his gun, shot the other through the body. Having scalped them, he made the best of his way to Fort Cumberland with their scalps, guns and horses, &c.

I bought one of the guns for fifty shillings, Maryland currency, being a French piece, very handsome and equally good. This same day a party of volunteers was detached, consisting of one hundred men, rank and file and officers.

The Indians having discovered their designs, * * *

'Tis not doubted the party will cut them off.

November 1, 2, 3—Nothing remarkable.

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[5] Lieutenant Walter Stewart was voted by the Virginia Assembly, August, 1755, thanks and a gratuity of £30, for his gallant conduct in the action on the Monongahela. He was wounded at the defeat of Braddock.

November 4th—The volunteers returned without success, the Indians being supposed to be returned.

November 13th—Colonel Stevens[6] arrived this day-evening with about one hundred recruits, with their proper officers—Captain Robert Spotswood,[7] Captain William Peachy,[8] Lieutenant John Hall, Lieutenant King, and two volunteers.

November 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19—Nothing remarkable.

November 20th—Ensign Bacon arrived at the fort from Patterson's Creek, where he had been to erect a fort. On his way he heard the Indian Hallow, and saw many tracks of Indians in the woods. This alarmed the fort, but being late 'twas not possible to send out a party; but orders were given for a hundred men to parade in the morning under Captain Waggoner.

November 21st—A very bad morning, wet and continuing to rain. A party of one hundred men paraded under Captain Waggoner,[9] to search for the Indians on Patterson's Creek, according to Ensign Bacon's information of the day before. Major Andrew Lewis and myself went as volunteers on this command. We returned the same day with the party. No Indians or tracks of Indians to be seen.

November 22d—A very cold day and windy.

November 23, 24, 25—Nothing remarkable.

November 26th—I went out this day in company with Major

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[6] Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stephen—Ed.

[7] The younger son of Governor Alexander Spotswood. He is supposed to have been slain by the Indians near Fort Duquesne in 1757—Ed.

[8] Subsequently promoted to Major of the Second Virginia Regiment, Colonel William Byrd, and was in the campaign under Forbes in 1758—Ed.

[9] Thomas Waggener was at the defeat and death of Jamonville, May 28, 1754, and was slightly wounded. He had previously served under Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, in the projected Canada expedition of 1746. He received the thanks of the House of Burgesses for his gallantry at Fort Necessity. Others of the name also served during this period. Ensign Edward Waggener was killed at the defeat of Braddock, and Captain Andrew Waggener received lands under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie of 1754—Ed.

James Livingston, Lieutenant Stark, one sergeant, a corporal and three privates to Nicholas' Fort on a party of pleasure. 'Tis about five miles from Fort Cumberland, well built, with four bastions. About 1 o'clock we left this fort and marched one mile below, where we crossed the Potomack river in a canoe. I went on the south side of the river into a house, where was a weaver's loom, and a small quantity of shavings of a wood the people in these parts dye with. Some distance from this house we found in the Indian path about two pounds of swan shot, supposed by our guide to be dropped there by the Indians in some hurry when they massacred the inhabitants about these plantations. We crossed a small mountain not far from this, on whose top you might drop a stone four hundred feet into the Potomack river. We passed another mountain something higher; had much the same prospect, a fine landscape. From the top of this mountain you might drop a stone above five hundred feet perpendicular into the Potomack river. We found here an Indian cap made of bear skin, and then we proceeded on our march to the new store, built by the Ohio Company, from whence we crossed the Potomack river, and before night got into Fort Cumberland. This march fatigued me very much, being above fifteen miles, and a great part of it over the mountains.

November 27th—A very fine warm day.

An exact list of officers and their ranks, belonging to the Virginia regiment, commanded by the Hon'ble George Washington:

The Hon'ble George Washington,	
Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Stevens,	
Major Andrew Lewis.	
Captains Peter Hogg,[10]	1
George Mercer,	2
Thomas Waggoner,	3

[10] Peter Hog (as he spelled his name) was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1703, and immigrated to Virginia with his brothers, James and Thomas, about 1745, and located in Augusta county, Virginia, where he married Elizabeth Taylor; was commissioned captain March 9, 1754; delegated July 21, 1756, to contract a line of frontier forts; served also in Sandy Creek Expedition in the same year; licensed to practice law May 10, 1759; appointed by Lord Dunmore April 10, 1772, deputy to the Attorney-General for the county of Dunmore (formed

Captains Robert Stewart,[11]	4
Thomas Cock,[12]	5
John Savage,[13]	6
William Branough,[14]	7
John Mercer,[15]	8
Joshua Lewis,	9
Henry Woodward,	10
Robert Spotswood,	11
Carter Harrison,[16]	12
Charles Lewis,	13
William Peachy,	14

February, 1772, from Frederick, and re-named Shenandoah county by act of October, 1777, Hening, VIII, pp. 597–579). He died April 20, 1782. Under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie he received 2347 acres of land. His descendants in the names of Hoge, Hogg, Hall, Blair, Blackley, Hawkins, McPherson, Ott, and others, are held in high social esteem.

[11] Subsequently promoted major; was engaged in the action on the Monongahela, and in August, 1755, was voted by the Virginia Assembly thanks and a gratuity of £100 for gallantry.

[12] Thomas Cocke, commissioned captain December 13, 1754. He appears to have been on terms of intimacy with the family of Colonel George William Fairfax.

[13] Served through the French and Indian war, receiving, in 1771, his allotment of lands under the proclamation of Governor Dinwiddie.

[14] Captain William Bronaugh received 6,000 acres of land in 1771 for his services.

[15] His full name was John Fenton Mercer, a younger brother of Captain George Mercer. He was born August 31, 1735; was killed and scalped by the Indians April 18, 1756, at Edwards's Fort, on the Warm Springs mountains whilst in command of a scouting party of one hundred men.

[16] Carter Henry Harrison, second son of Benjamin and Anne (daughter of Robert "King" Carter) Harrison (the second of the name in Virginia), of "Berkeley," James river; brother of Benjamin "the Signer," and uncle of President William Henry Harrison. He resigned his commission (probably because of ill-health) in favor of his brother, Charles, subsequently colonel in the Revolution and commissioned Brigadier-General United States Army, December 24, 1794, but who was found murdered in bed soon after. He married, in 1763, Mary, daughter of Colonel Augustine and Mary (Herbert) Claiborne, who was fourth in descent from Colonel William Claiborne, "the rebel."

Captains	David Bell,	15
	Robert McKenzie,	16
Lieutenants	John McNiel,	1
	William Stark,	2
	Thomas Bullet,[17]	3
	Walter Stewart,	4
	John Blagg,[18]	5
	Hancock Eustice,[19]	6
	George Frazer,	7
	John Edward Lomax,	8
	Peter Steenburger,	9
	John Williams,	10
	Augustine Brockenbrough,[20]	11
	John Campbell,	12
	John Hall,	13
	John Lowry,	14
	John King,	15
	James Baker,	16
Ensigns	Mordecai Buckner,	1
	John Polson,[21]	2
	William Dangerfield,	3
	Edward Hubbard,	4
	John Dean,	5
	Nathaniel Milner,	6

[17] Thomas Bullett received lands in 1771 under the proclamation of 1754; was appointed lieutenant-colonel and deputy adjutant-general February 22, 1777, and died in service during the Revolution.

[18] Lieutenant John Blagge was present as a member of a court-martial held at Winchester, Virginia, May 2, 1756.

[19] Hancock Eustace was subsequently promoted captain.

[20] Augustine, or Austin, Brockenbrough, eldest son of Colonel William Brockenbrough, from England, who settled in Richmond county, Virginia, early in the eighteenth century; was present at Braddock's defeat; remained in London neutral during the Revolution; returned to Virginia after peace was declared and married a daughter of Colonel Champe, of King George, and had issue.

[21] John Poulson was probably a younger brother of Captain William Poulson.

Ensigns	William Flemming,[22]	7
	Leonard Price,	8
	Nathaniel Thompson,	9
	Thomas Carter,	10
	Charles Smith,	11
	Lee Hussis Dekizer,[23]	12
	George Gordon,	13
	George Weeden,[24]	14
	——— ———,	15
	——— ———,	16

November 30th—This day a man unfortunately falling down the bank of Potomack, opposite to ye Fort, his gun fired and shot a soldier thro' the leg, who was crossing the river in a canoe.

December 2nd—Captain Spotswood and self went volunteers with a party, commanded by Ensign Walter Lowrie, to gather corn from the deserted fields. We arrived about 2 o'clock at a plantation of one Cussips, most delightfully situated on land that gave me great pleasure. 'Twas a piece of low ground entirely surrounded by the mountains, the prospects very romantic; high rocks on the sides of the mountains, some hundred feet perpendicular to the River Potomack. Here we lodged this night in a comfortable house.

December 3d—This morning we took our guns, and after directing our men (in number thirty) to gather the corn, we took

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[22] William Fleming migrated to Virginia in early manhood. He is said to have been of noble lineage. He was a physician, and with the rank of lieutenant subsequently acted as surgeon. He served in the Sandy Creek Expedition of 1756. He was one of the first justices of the peace for Botetourt county in 1769. In 1774 he raised a regiment which he commanded at the battle of Point Pleasant. He was long a member of the Virginia Assembly, and in June, 1781, as the only member of the Council at Richmond, the remaining members with Governor Jefferson and the Legislature having fled before the invading traitor Arnold, he was for a time the acting Governor of Virginia. His acts were subsequently legalized by the Assembly. He married a daughter of Israel Christian, and one of his daughters was the wife of Rev. George A. Baxter, D. D.

[23] In the *Dinwiddie Papers* the name is spelled De *Keyser*.

[24] George Weedon, subsequently brigadier-general in the Revolution.

different courses to hunt for deer and such game as the place afforded. This evening Captain Spotswood went with a soldier to the plantation of one Williams, where the houses were burnt by the savages. The body of a woman layed near one of the houses, her head being scalped, and also a small boy and a young man. This horrid scene gave us a terrible shock, but I hope, with the leave of God, we shall still overcome the cruel, barbarous, and inhuman enemy.

December 4th—This morning we intended to hunt again, but soon after day we heard three distinct guns under the Alleghany mountains, wherefore we were particularly cautious not to venture too far to hunt, lest we should be outwitted by our ever cautious enemy.

December 5th—This morning we marched for Fort Cumberland, and met about five miles from Cussips a relief, commanded by Lieutenant Lynn, of twelve men. We accepted of his relief, and gave up our command to Mr. Lynn, according to order.

December 6th—Five deserters were this day punished, each receiving one thousand lashes. In this last command I may, with the greatest truth, aver that I saw the most horrid, shocking sight I ever yet beheld. At a house adjoining to the cornfield, in which our soldiers were employed in gathering corn, we saw the bodies of three different people who were first massacred, then scalped, and after thrown into a fire. These bodies were not yet quite consumed, but the flesh on many parts of them. We saw the clothes of these people yet bloody, and the stakes, the instruments of their death, still bloody and their brains sticking on them, the orchards cut down, the mills destroyed, and a wast of all manner of household goods. These people were, in my opinion, very industrious, having the best corn I ever saw, and their plantations well calculated for produce and every other conveniency, suitable to the station of a farmer.

December 24th—Being Christmas, we were invited to spend the evening with Colonel Stephen, where we spent the time in drinking loyal healths and dancing 'till 11 o'clock, and then parted in the most amicable manner.

December 25th—Were invited to dine with Colonel Stephens, where we had the most sumptuous entertainment. After dinner drank the Royal Healths and sung some entertaining songs with

3 Huzzas and rolls of Drums to every health and song. Then took partners and spent the evening in dancing, about 12 o'clock broke up well pleased with our generous entertainment.

December 26th—Sociably spent.

December 27th—I was ordered to march with one lieutenant, one sergeant, one corporal and twenty men to take the command of Ashby's Fort ; arrived about 5 o'clock, met Captain Ashby near the barracks, inquired his number of men and desired to see his list. He informed me he did not know the number, and that his lieutenant had the list and was absent. I ordered the drum to beat to arms, when with much difficulty we got together twenty-one men. I appointed Lieutenant John Bacon adjutant, had the articles of war read to the men, and let them know I was to command them. Mr. Bacon made a most affectionate speech to them and then discharged them for this night. They seemed to be mutinous, but were soon convinced after reading orders from Colonel Adam Stephen that I was their commander. I gave orders for a parade.

CHARLES LEWIS.

December 27, 1755.

A copy of the original journal.

W. L. LEWIS.

University of Virginia, April 29, 1891.

OFFICERS OF THE

VIRGINIA REGIMENT IN 1762.

The following paper in the possession of the editor, and labelled "For Mr. James Cocke, An Account of the Year's Pay paid the Officers of the Virginia regiment, 1762," is appended to the Journal of Captain Charles Lewis, for the further information it presents:

"A Account of Cash paid the Officers of the Virginia Regiment for their presents, allowed by Act of Assembly, Disbanded March 1, 1762."

Lieutenant-Colonel	Adam Stephen,	£319 7 6
Major	Andrew Lewis, - - -	273 15 0
Captains	Robert Stewart, - -	182 10 0
	Mordecai Buckner, -	182 10 0
	Thomas Bullitt, - -	182 10 0
	Nathaniel Gist,[25] - -	182 10 0
	John Blagg, - - -	182 10 0
Lieutenants	John Lawson, - -	91 05 0
	John Cameron, - -	91 05 0
	Thomas Gist, - -	91 05 0
	Reuben Voss, - -	91 05 0
	George Weedon, - -	91 05 0
	Walter Cunningham, -	91 05 0
	Alexander Minzie, -	91 05 0
	David Kennedy, - -	91 05 0
	Joseph Fent, - -	91 05 0
	Jethro Sumner, - -	91 05 0
	William Daingerfield, -	91 05 0
	Robert Johnston, - -	91 05 0
	John Sallard, - -	91 05 0
	Larkin Chew, - -	91 05 0
	William Hughes, - -	91 05 0
	Alexander Boyd, - -	91 05 0
	William Fleming, - -	91 05 0
	William Cocke, - -	91 05 0
Ensigns	Barton Lucas, - -	73 00 0
	Alexander McClannahan,	73 00 0
	George McKnight, -	73 00 0
	David Long,- - -	73 00 0
	John Seayers, - -	73 00 0
	Henry Timberlake, -	73 00 0
Surgeon	John Stuart, - -	182 10 0
Captain	John McNeill, - -	182 10 0
		£3,951 02 6

[25] Subsequently served in the Revolution as Colonel of the Second Virginia regiment.

Col° Wm. Byrd, Credit given him in his Acc^{t}, Virginia Ledger, £547 00.

Capt. Henry Woodward, Paid by the Treasurer, £182, 10.

Lieut. Leonard Price, Credit given him in his Acc^{t}, Virginia Ledger, £91, 05.

Lieutenant Charles Smith, paid by the Treasurer, £91, 05.

1762, Sept.—Lieut. William Woodford, Paid by Alex^{r} Boyd, Pay M^{r}, after deducting his account with the Country—Balance, £84, 8, 11.

ORDERLY BOOK

OF

CAPTAIN ROBERT GAMBLE

OF THE

SECOND VIRGINIA REGIMENT,

COMMANDED BY

COLONEL CHRISTIAN FEBIGER,

August 21—November 16,

1779.

INTRODUCTION.

The original of the fragment of the Orderly Book of Captain Robert Gamble, herewith published, was presented to the Virginia Historical Society by Hon. Joseph Addison Waddell, Staunton, Virginia, some years ago. Mr. Waddell obtained it from William H. Gamble, Esq., a descendant of Captain Gamble, and gave some extracts from it in his "Annals of Augusta County, Virginia," to which valuable work the editor acknowledges his indebtedness.

The grandfather of Captain Gamble (also named Robert) was a native of Londonderry, Ireland (in the famous seige of which in 1689, a Gamble is said to have lost his life), and was an immigrant to Augusta county, Virginia, about the year 1735. He brought with him his wife and a son, James, born in 1729. Mr. Waddell mentions another son, Joseph, who, he states, was probably the ancestor of the Gambles of Ohio and Missouri. James Gamble had issue two sons, Robert and John, and three daughters, Agnes, Elizabeth and Esther, who married, severally, Davis, Moffett and Bell.

Robert, the elder son, was born September 3, 1754, and was educated at Liberty Hall Academy, the initial of the admirable Washington-Lee University. He is stated to have entered the service of the Revolution as first lieutenant of the first company raised in Augusta county. He soon succeeded to the command of the company. He was in active service during the entire period of the war and participated in many battles, including those of Princeton and Monmouth. It is claimed by his descendants that he led a pioneer assault in the storming of Stony Point. This memorable event has been peculiarly impressed on



the imagination of the goodly people of Richmond, in that the historic and socially excellent metropolis was favored in the worthy citizenship of two invincible leaders in the reduction of Stony Point, Captain Robert Gamble and Major James Gibbon.[1]

Lossing gives the following account of the memorable achievement: "On the morning of the 15th of July, 1779, all the Massachusetts light infantry were marched to the quarters of Wayne at Sandy Beach, fourteen miles from Stony Point. At meridian on that exceedingly sultry day, the whole body moved through narrow defiles, over rough crags and across deep morasses in single file, and at eight in the evening rendezvoused a mile and a half below Stony Point. There they remained until General Wayne and several officers returned from reconnoitreing the works of the enemy, when they were formed into column, and moved silently forward under the guidance of a negro slave belonging to a Captain Lamb, who resided in the neighborhood. The position of the fortress was such that it seemed almost impregnable. Situated upon a huge rocky bluff, an island at high water, and always inaccessible dry-shod, except across a narrow causeway in the rear, it was strongly defended by outworks and a double row of *abatis*. Upon three sides of the rock were the waters of the Hudson, and on the fourth was a morass, deep and dangerous. But Wayne was not easily deterred by obstacles; and tradition avers that while conversing with Washington on the subject of this expedition, he remarked with emphasis: "General, I'll storm hell if *you* will only plan it." He possessed the true fire of the flint, and was always governed by the maxim, "Where there's a will there's a way."

[1] Then Lieutenant Gibbon, of the Sixth Pennsylvania Infantry, and subsequently promoted major. He was appointed collector of the Port of Richmond in 1802. Having been admitted a member of the New York Society of the Cincinnati, he transferred his membership to the Virginia Society, of which he was the last treasurer. He died July 1, 1834, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and is buried in Shockoe Hill Cemetery at Richmond. A son, Lieutenant James Gibbon, United States Navy, lost his life in the burning of the Richmond Theatre, December 26, 1811. Rev. Charles Minnegerode, D. D., so long the beloved rector of St. Paul's Church, married a granddaughter of Major James Gibbon. A fine portrait of him, by John B. Martin, is among the pictures owned by the Virginia Historical Society.

He resolved to storm the fort at all hazards, and only waited for the ebbing of the tide and the deep first slumber of the garrison to move toward the fortress. It was half past eleven o'clock at night when the Americans commenced their silent march toward the fort. All the dogs in the neighborhood had been killed the day before, that their barking might not give notice of strangers near. The negro, with two strong men disguised as farmers, advanced alone. The countersign was given to the first sentinel on the high ground west of the morass, and while he was conversing with Pompey, the men seized and gagged him. The silence of the sentinel at the causeway was secured in the same manner, and as soon as the tide ebbed sufficiently, the whole of Wayne's little army, except a detachment of three hundred men under General Muhlenburg, who remained in the rear as a reserve, crossed the morass to the foot of the western declivity of the promonotory, unobserved by the enemy. The troops were now divided into two columns; the van of the right, consisting of one hundred and fifty volunteers, under Lieutenant-Colonel De Fleury,[2] and that of the left, of one hundred volunteers under Major Stewart, each with unloaded muskets and fixed bayonets. An *avant-guard* of twenty picked men for each company, under Lieutenants Gibbon and Knox, preceded them to remove the *abatis* and other obstructions. These vans composed the forlorn hope on that memorable night. At a little past midnight the advanced parties moved silently to the charge, one company on the southern and the other on the northern portion of the height.

They were followed by the two main divisions; the right composed of the regiments of Febiger and Meigs, being led by General Wayne in person. The left was composed of Colonel

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[2] Louis de Fleury, a descendant of Hercule Andre de Fleury, a French nobleman, who was the preceptor of the grandson of Louis XIV. He was afterwards made Cardinal and Prime Minister. De Fleury came to America early in the Revolution; was received kindly by Washington, who gave him a commission. Educated as an engineer, his talents were soon brought into requisition. He acted in that capacity at Fort Mifflin. For his gallantry at the battle of Brandywine Congress voted him a horse. He returned to France soon after the capture of Stony Point.

Butler's[3] regiment and two companies under Major Murfey.[4] The Americans were undiscovered until within pistol shot of the pickets upon the heights, when a skirmish ensued between the sentinels and the advance guards. The pickets fired several shots, but the Americans, true to orders, relied entirely on the bayonet, and pressed forward with vigor. The garrison was aroused from their slumbers, and instantly the deep silence of the night was broken by the roll of the drum, the loud cry of *To Arms! To Arms!* the rattle of musketry from the ramparts and behind the *abatis*, and the roar of cannon charged with deadly grape-shot from the embrasures. In the face of this terrible storm the Americans forced their way, at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, until the van of each column met in the centre of the works, where each arrived at the same time.[5] At the inner *abatis* Wayne was struck upon the head by a musket ball, which brought him upon his knees. His two brave aids, Fishburne and Archer raised him to his feet, and carried him gallantly through the works.[6]

Believing himself mortally wounded, the General exclaimed as he arose, "March on! carry me into the front, for I will die

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[3] Richard Butler was appointed major of the Eighth Pennsylvania regiment July 20, 1776; promoted lieutenant-colonel March 12, 1777; transferred as lieutenant-colonel of Morgan's Riflemen June 9, 1777; is promoted colonel of the Ninth Pennsylvania, dating from June 7, 1777; by an alteration subsequent to March 12, 1777, he was transferred to the command of the Seventeenth Pennsylvania, January 1, 1783, he was in command of the Third Pennsylvania. He was second in command under General Arthur St. Clair in his ill-fated expedition, and was killed in the battle of November 4, 1791, which terminated in the defeat of St. Claire's army. (*Pennsylvania in the Revolution.* Edited by John Blair Lynn and William H. Egle, M. D. Vol. I.) The editor is further indebted to this valuable work.

[4] It will be found that a Major Murfey is mentioned in the Orderly Book of date August 21, 1779, and subsequently, but the editor has been unable to identify him with any special command. Watson, in his *Annals of New York* (p. 65), mentions "the celebrated Murphy, a man who had belonged to Morgan's Rifle Corps."

[5] Major (afterwards General) Hall states in his memoir: "Each of our men had a white paper in his hat, which in the darkness distinguished him from the enemy; and the watch-word was '*The fort's our own.*'"

[6] Wayne's official dispatch, dated Stony Point, July 17, 1779.

at the head of my column!" But the wound was not very severe, and he was able to join in the loud huzzas that arose when the two columns met as victors within the fort. Colonel De Fleury first entered the works, and struck the British standard with his own hands.[7] The garrison surrendered at discretion as prisoners of war, and that brilliant achievement was rendered the more glorious for the clemency which the victors exercised toward the vanquished. Not a life was taken after the flag was struck and the garrison had pleaded for quarters. Wayne had but fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded; the British had sixty-three killed, and Johnson, the commander, with five hundred and forty-three officers and men were made prisoners. The ships of the enemy, lying in the river in front of Stony Point, slipped their cables and moved down to a place of security. Before daylight, 'Mad Anthony' sent to the commander-in-chief this brief and comprehensive reply:

STONY POINT, *16th July, 1779.*
2 o'clock A. M.

DEAR GENERAL:

The fort and garrison, with Colonel Johnston, are ours. Our officers and men behaved like men who are determined to be free. Yours most sincerely,

ANT'Y WAYNE.

General Washington.

At dawn the next morning the cannons of the captured fort were turned upon the enemy's works at Verplanck's Point, under Colonel Webster, and a desultory bombardment was kept up during the day. Major-General Robert Howe had been sent to attack Fort Fayette, but on account of delays and

[7] Wadsell states that Captain Gamble led one of the assailing parties, and that "he with his men mounted the wall in immediate vicinity of a cannon, and seeing the match about to be applied, barely had time to lower his head and order his men to fall flat before the gun was discharged. He was, however, permanently deafened by the concussion. His company immediately moved on, and were the first to enter the fort. Being busily engaged in securing prisoners, the British flag was overlooked until Lieutenant-Colonel De Fleury observed it and pulled it down. At this stage the Pennsylvania troops entered the fort"—*Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, p. 188.

some misconception of Washington's orders, he did not make the attack in time to dislodge the garrison.

News of Webster's critical situation and the capture of Stony Point was speedily communicated to Sir Henry Clinton, and he immediately sent relief to the menaced garrison at Verplanck's. Howe withdrew, and the enterprise was abandoned.

The British repossessed themselves of Stony Point on the 20th, but they had little of value left them but the eligible site for a fortification. The storming and capture of Stony Point, regarded as an exhibition of skill and indomitable courage, was one of the most brilliant events of the war. General Wayne, the leader of the enterprise, was everywhere greeted with raptuous applause. Congress testified their grateful sense of his services by a vote of thanks 'for his brave, prudent and soldiery conduct.' It was also resolved that a medal of gold, emblematic of this action, should be struck and presented to General Wayne. Thanks were also presented by Congress to Lieutenant-Colonel De Fleury and Major John Stewart, and a medal of silver was ordered to be struck and presented to each.

The conduct of Lieutenants Gibbon[8] and Knox[9] was warmly applauded, and brevets of Captain were given to each, and to Mr. Archer, the volunteer aid of Wayne, who was the bearer of the General's letter to Washington on the occasion. Pursuant to the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, and in fulfilment of promises made by Wayne before the assault, with the concurrence of Washington, Congress resolved, 'That the value of the military stores taken at Stony Point be ascertained and divided among the gallant troops by whom it was reduced, in such manner and proportions as the commander-in-chief shall prescribe.'[10]

From the following, which is labelled "Captain Gamble's Company, Prize Roll for Stony Point," it would appear that the company commanded by him on the occasion was composed of volunteers.[11]

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[8] Lieutenant Gibbon lost seventeen men, killed and wounded, in the attack.

[9] George Knox, of the Ninth Pennsylvania regiment.

[10] *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, pp. 744, 750.

[11] Furnished by Dr. Cary B. Gamble, Baltimore Md.

A Return of the Men of Captain Gamble's Company when Stony Point was taken from the Enemy, 15th July, 1779.

Robert Gamble, Captain.
David Williams, Lieutenant.
William Spencer, Sergeant Eighth Volunteer Regiment.
George Grimes, Sergeant First State Volunteer Reg't.
Richard Piles, Sergeant Eighth Volunteer Regiment.
Randolph Death, Corporal Eighth Volunteer Regiment.
Samuel Glen, Corporal Seventh Volunteer Regiment.
Jesse Page, Corporal Eighth Volunteer Regiment.
John Farrell, Drummer Seventh Volunteer Regiment.

Belonging to the Seventh Virginia Regiment:

Joshua Haycraft,
Mathias Martin,
Alexander Dresdal,
John Malvin,
Peter Sherriden,
Joseph Fox,
Daniel Burcher,
Thomas Roberts,
Sylvester Hurly,
William Gibbs.
William Hinds,
Daniel Rich,
Aaron Redmond,
Thomas Miller,
William Campbell,
Moses Plain,
Peter Barret,
Alexander Strickling.
Charles Steward.

Belonging to the Eighth Virginia Regiment:

George Ward,
John Bray,
James Balls,
Henry Denny,
Henry Normond,
Jacob Roads,
William McCollum,
Henry Denny,
John Trotter,
George Sell,
Michael Moore,
James L. Masters,
Richard Barlow,
Steven Smythers,
John Bland,
Marshall Burton,
Peter Warren,
John O'Harroh,
Patrick Lyons,
William Steward,
John Hanson.

James Flanherty, Sergeant-Major, ought to have been included in the company. Lieutenant Lind will have him put in the field and staff.

ROBERT GAMBLE,
Colonel Febiger's Regiment. *Captain.*

CAPTAIN GAMBLE.

1 Captain,	6 shares each 78⅔, - - -		$ 472
1 Lieutenant,	4 " - - -		314⅔
4 Sergeants,	6 " - - -		472
1 Drummer,	1 4/10 " - - -		86½
3 Corporals,	3 12/10 " - - -		259½
40 R. & File,	40 " - - -		$3146⅔
	60 16/10		4751⅓
Captain Gamble for goods, - - -			17
Ballance paid, - - - -			$4734⅓

Captain Gamble married Catharine, daughter of John Grattan,[12] and lived for a time on a farm given him by his father. Here his children were born in a house, still standing. A short time after the conclusion of the war he removed to Staunton and embarked in merchandising with his brother-in-law, Robert Grattan,

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[12] He was a native of Ireland, and is said to have been of the same family as the distinguished leader of the Irish Parliament, Henry Grattan. He married in Scotland, Catharine ——— and immigrated to Pennsylvania, but subsequently settled near Staunton, Virginia, and engaged in merchandising. He had issue:

I. Catharine, married Colonel Robert Gamble.
II. Elizabeth, married Colonel Samuel Brown, of Greenbrier county.
III. Agnes, married Colonel Elijah Page and moved to Kentucky.
IV. Margaret, married Samuel Miller, proprietor of Miller's Iron Works.
V. John, an officer of the Revolution, who died in service near Sunbry, Georgia.
VI. Robert, who was for a time a partner of Colonel Gamble; commanded a company of cavalry in the Whiskey Insurrection of Pennsylvania; subsequently a farmer. He was the father of the late Peachy R. Grattan, of Richmond.

under the firm name of Gamble & Grattan. In 1787, Lieutenant-Colonel Gamble appears of record as a member of a court martial held in Staunton. By this title, derived from a command in the militia, he was henceforth known.

About 1792 Colonel Gamble moved to Richmond, where he prospered greatly in business and became a highly influential citizen. His residence at the corner of Third and Byrd streets, a commodious square building of brick, stuccoed, was demolished only a few years ago. It was commenced to be built by Colonel John Harvie,[13] who lost his life in a fall caused by the breaking of a ladder which he had ascended to inspect the progress of the work. Colonel Gamble purchasing the property, completed it. The elevation on which it stood is still known as Gamble's Hill. The place of business of Colonel Gamble was a large building which stood at the corner of Main and Fourteenth streets. His two sons John Grattan Gamble and Robert Gamble were associated with him in business under the firm name of Robert Gamble & Company. After his death they continued the business. They both served as officers in the war of 1812, and both removed to Florida in 1827, where they became prominent and influential. John Grattan Gamble was twice married. His first wife was a Miss Duncan, and his second a daughter of Governor Christopher Greenup, of Kentucky. Robert Gamble married a daughter of General James Breckinridge.

Of the daughters of Colonel Gamble, Agnes became the wife of Governor William H. Cabell, subsequently of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia, and its president at the time of his death in 1849. Elizabeth, the younger daughter, married the distinguished William Wirt, for a time the Attorney-General of the United States. She was his second wife, his first wife, who lived but a short time, was Mildred, the daughter of Dr. George Gilmer, of "Pen Park," Albemarle county. The death of Colonel Gamble was accidental. He was of stout figure and was in the habit of riding on horseback to his place of business.

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[13] Colonel Harvie was a member of the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and 1776; of the old Congress, 1778 and 1779; and the first Register of the Virginia Land Office, which he held at the time of his death in 1791.

On the morning of April 12, 1810, as he was thus on his way thither, reading a newspaper which he held before him, some buffalo skins were thrown into the street from the upper window of a warehouse he was passing. His horse took fright, started, and threw him on his head, producing concussion of the brain, which was almost immediately fatal.[14] He lies beneath an altar-shaped tomb of white marble in the church-yard of the venerable sanctuary St. John's. His home was the seat of an elegant hospitality, and within its walls were frequent gatherings of the veterans of the Revolution and of that brilliant coterie of intellect and refinement which so distinguished Richmond in the early decades of the century.

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[14] The operation of trepanning was at once skillfully performed by an accomplished surgeon, Dr. John H. Foushee (son of Dr. William Foushee, the first mayor of the city of Richmond), who was within call, but it was unavailing to even arouse Colonel Gamble from the comatose condition which had been occasioned.

ORDERLY BOOK

OF

CAPTAIN ROBERT GAMBLE.

HEADQUARTERS LIGHT INFANTRY, [*August 21, 1779.*]

Field Officer to-morrow, Colo. Meggs[15] * * * Picquett this Night, Major Stewart [adjutant]; to-morrow, Maury,[16] orderly serg'ts from * * * and Meggs' Reg't Colo. Meggs and Butler. Majors Hull[17] and Murfey[18] will attend at Headquarters this afternoon at five o'clock to receive their Dividend of money arising from the sales of the Plunder taken in storming Stony Point July 15th, '79, which they will receive with Proper Stated record. * * *

HEAD QUARTERS LIGHT INFANTRY,

Sunday, Aug't 22, '79.

Field Officer to-morrow, Colo. Butler.[19] Ditto for Picquett this Night Maj'r Posey.[20] Adjutant to-morrow, Thompson.

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[15] Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, born Middletown, Conn., December, 1740; died at the Cherokee Agency January 28, 1823.

[16] Abraham Maury, appointed Lieutenant Tenth Virginia regiment, October 8, 1777; received bounty lands from the State.

[17] Major (subsequently General) William Hull, born at Derby, Conn., June 24, 1753; died at Newton, Mass., November 29, 1825.

[18] Major Murfey. See *ante*, p. 224.

[19] Colonel Richard Butler.

[20] Thomas Posey (son of Captain John Posey, a neighbor of George Washington, and who is said to have served in the French and Indian war), was born on the banks of the Potomac July 9, 1750; died at Shawneetown, Ill., March 19, 1818; removed to Western Virginia at the age of nineteen, and was quartermaster under General Andrew Lewis; participated in the battle of Point Pleasant October 10, 1774; in 1775 he was one of the Committee of Correspondence of Augusta county;

Orderly Sergt's from Col. Butler and Febiger's[21] regiments.

	C.	Serg'ts.	C.
Daily g'd,	1	2	2
Orderly,		1	
	1	3	

For Guard to-morrow, Capt. Gamble.

HEAD QUARTERS LT. INFANTRY, FORT MONTGOMERY.

Monday, Aug't 23, '79.

Field officer to-morrow, Lt. Col. Fleury. Ditto for Picquett this Night, Col. Meggs. Adjutant to-morrow * * Benjamin.

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was appointed captain and raised a company for the Seventh Virginia Continental regiment; aided in defeating Dunmore on Gwyn's Island; joined Washington's army at Middlebrook early in 1777; was transferred to Morgan's Rifles; led the regiment as Major in an expedition against the Indians in October, 1778; in the spring of 1779 took command of the Eleventh Virginia regiment; was soon after transferred to the command of a battalion of Colonel Febiger's regiment under Wayne; participated in the reduction of Stony Point, and was among the first to enter the works; present at the surrender of Yorktown; organized a new regiment, of which the rank of lieutenant-colonel, he took command; and served under Wayne in Georgia until the evacuation of Savannah. When surprised by the Indians under Gueristersigo, on the night of June 23, 1782, Posey rallied and led his men to the charge, defeating the enemy with severe loss. From 1786 to 1793 he was County Lieutenant of Spotsylvania county, Va.; appointed brigadier-general February 14, 1793; settled in Kentucky; was elected State Senator; was four years Lieutenant-Governor; Major-General of Kentucky levies in 1809; United States Senator from Louisiana 1812–'13; succeeded Harrison as Governor of the Territory of Indiana March 3, 1813, and in 1816 became Agent for Indian Affairs, which post he held at the time of his death.

[21] Colonel Christian Febiger, born in Denmark in 1747; died in Philadelphia September 20, 1796. He had seen service before enlisting April 28, 1775, and at Bunker's Hill led a portion of Gerrish's regiment, of which he was adjutant, to the scene of battle in season to do good service. He served with marked ability throughout the war; accompanied Arnold to Quebec, and was made prisoner in the attack on that citadel; was conspicuous in the attack of Stony Point and at Yorktown, where he commanded the Second Virginia regiment. From 1789 until his death he was Treasurer of Pennsylvania.

Orderly Serg'ts from * * & Butler's Regt's. Detail C. 1. S. 1. C. 2 * * to parade at these quarters with Packs Slung & one day's Provisions, at Five o'clock this afternoon Persizely, the arms & ammunision to be immediately inspected & Returns of Difisiances given that they may be suplide such Cartridges as Can be exposed to the Sun on Blankets with care and attention.

	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd,	1	1	2	39.
Detach't,	1		1	9.
				48.

officers for Picquett to-morrow, Lt. Knox, for detachment to parade at five o'clock, Lt. Craford.

HEAD QUARTERS LT. INFANTRY FORT MONTGOMERY

Aug't 24th '79

Field officer to-morrow Maj'r Hull, Ditto for Picquett this night Col. Butler, adj't to-morrow Davis, ordily serg'ts from Col. Meggs & Febiger's Reg't the guard ordered yesterday to concidered as a standing Guard to mount Reggularly Every Evening & come off one hour after Sun Rise

	L	S	C	P
Daily g'd	1.	2.	3.	38.
Night do.	0.	1.	1.	10
	1.	3.	4.	48.

Officer for Guard Lt.[22] Crittenton.

LIGHT INFANTRY, SANDY BEACH, GEN'L ORDER,

Aug't 25, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Maj'r Posey ; for night Picquett Col. Fleury, adjutant To-morrow Maury. at a Cort Marshall held

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[22] John Crittenden appointed second lieutenant Eleventh Virginia regiment, July 21, 1777; promoted lieutenant, May 14, 1779.

the 24th Inst whereof Col. Putnam[23] was President, Lt. Smith of Col. Putnam's Regt. was try'd for upon a charge of taking several articils of Plunder from a soldier of the night of the storm of Stony Point, and was acquited of the Charge, the Gen'l approves the Sentence and orders Lt. Smith out [of] arrest & to join & do his Duty with his Regt. the Cort whereof Col. Putnam is President will set To-morrow morning at Ten o'clock for the Trial of Capt. Tolburt[24] of Col. Butler's Regt. & Lt. Mangard of Col. Putnam's Regt. on the Charge that will [be] Exhibited against them by Capt. Christey[25] & Lt. Col. Fleury Respectively for the Trial of all such as may be Brought before them, all Partyes to attend it is absolutely found necessary to Coutinue the Guard mentioned in yesterday's orders as a Standing Guard & to be Detained and meet on the Guard Parade at the usual time.

	E.	S	S.	C.	P.
Daily Gd.	1.	2.	3.	3.	48.
Night Gd.				1.	10.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	58.

Head Quarters Lt. Infantry, Fort Mont'y,
Aug't 28, '79.

Field Officers To-morrow Major Hull, Ditto For Picquett this Night Col. Meggs, adjutant to To-morrow Farell, ordily Serg't. For head quarters to-morrow From Col. Fibiger's & Meggs' Regts. Lt. Col. Fleury is officer for this Day Vice Col. Butler is Indisposed. the whole Corps of Light Infantry To Parade on Monday next at Troop Beating, the Guard of this Day to Take the Right of their Respective Regts & not to march of[f] the Parade till Reviewed by the Genl. the Standing Order for the Men's keeping Two Days Provisions Ready Cooked not

[23] Rufus Putnam, born at Sutton, Mass., April 9, 1738; died at Marietta, Ohio, May 4, 1824; colonel of engineers of Fifth Massachusetts; promoted brigadier-general January 7, 1783.

[24] Captain Jeremiah Talbott.

[25] John Christie, appointed captain Third Pennsylvania regiment, October 23, 1776.

heaving being attended to lately the Gen'l Desires the officer Carefully to Inspect it as no excuse will Be admitted For neglect of it. It is Expected that every officer appears on the Parade with their Espontoons agreeable to the Directions of the Inspecting Gen'l.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd	1.	1.	3.	4.	47.

Officers for Guard To-morrow Capt. Grant and Lieut. Williams.

Head Quarters Light Infantry Fort Montgomery,
Aug't 29, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Major Stewart, Field officer for this Night Lt. Col. Fleury, adjutant to-morrow, Maury, ordily Serg'ts From Col. Putnam's & Butler's Reg'ts & Capt. from Col. Putnam's Reg't to sit as a member of the cort marshall which is to meet to-morrow at 2 o'clock.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale		2.	3.	4.	48.
Daily g'd					

Officers for Guard to-morrow Lt. Crittenton & McDowell.[26]

Head Quarters Light Infantry Fort Montgomery,
Aug't 30, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Major Posey. Field officer for Picquett this night Major Hull, adjutant to-morrow Thompson, ordily Serg'ts For Head Quarters From Col. Meggs' & Febiger's Reg'ts.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd	1.	1.	3.	3.	49.

Officers for Guard to-morrow Capt. Booker[27] & Lt. Coalman.[28]

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[26] Lieutenant John McDowell, Eighth Virginia regiment.

[27] Captain Samuel Booker, Fourth Virginia regiment.

[28] Lieutenant Jacob Coleman, Seventh Virginia regiment.

HEAD QUARTERS LT. INFANTRY, FORT MONTGOMERY,
Aug't 31, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Col. Meggs. Ditto For Picquett this night Maj'r Stewart, adjutant to-morrow Benjamin, Orderly From Putnam's & Butler's Reg'ts. A cort marshall held on the 27th of this Ult. whereof Col. Putnam was President, Capt. Talburt of Col. Butler's Reg't of Light Infantry was Tryed for Disobedience of orders & mutiney, the Cort Do Judge Capt. Talburt not Guilty of the Charges Exhibited against him & therefore Do acquit him. Gen'l Wayne Confirms the Sentence of the Cort marshall & orders Capt. Talburt out of arrest & to Return to his Duty in the said Reg't.

	C	S.	S.	C	P.
Daily g'd	1.	1.	3.	3.	49.

Officers For Guard To-morrow Capt. Montgomery and Lieut. Fox.

Regimental order Sept. 1st '79, the Col. o[b]serving that the Drums & Fifes in Stead of Improving themselves since they have Been on this Detachment have Grone a Great Deal worse Direct that Phillip Goaf Fifer in the 1st Battalion, and Wm. Armstead Drumer of Second take out the Drums & Fifes of the Reg't Every afternoon Sundays and Rainy Day[s] exsepted to Practice From hours From four to six o'clock, he also orders that one Battalion march Down to the old Field where they Commonly Parade, Practice Marching one hour & a half after Revalle where all the Drums & Fifes will attend this to Begin with the Second Battalion to-morrow morning and to Continue alturnately when the weather will Permit.

A Regimental Cort Marshall to set For the Trials of such Prisoners as shall be brought before him.

HEAD QUARTERS L'T INFANTRY, FORT MONTGOMERY,
Sept. 1st, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Col. Butler. Field Officer for Picquett this night Major Posey, adjutant to-morrow Farrell ordily Serg'ts From Col. Meggs' & Febiger's Reg'ts.

	C.	S.	S	C.	P
Detale	1.	1.	3.	2.	48.
Daily g'd					

Officers For Guard To-morrow Capt. Gamble and Lt. Crafford.[29]

Regimental Order Sept. 1st '79 Light Infantry:

A Regimental Court Marshal Whereof Capt. Skelton[30] was President Capt. Glen was Tried [for] Disobedience of orders, absence at Role Call and Drunkenness & Sentenced to be Reduced to a Private, Sentence approved. John Bowling and John Malvin Tried for the Same Crime & Sentenced to Receive Fifty Lashes Each in Concideration of the Recommendation of the Cort and the Former Good Carrector they have had He is induced to Remit the Punishment for this time, at the Same Time Informing them that Should they Ever be found Guilty again they may expect Double Punishment for the Same Crime. Thos Roberts & Wm. Gibbs tried first for being about without Leave, Second for Drunkenness, & thirdly for not attending Role Call, and Further for Suspision of Stealing, the Theft not proved on Gibbs he is Sentenced to Receive fifty Lashes on his Bare Back. Approved. Thos. Roberts is found Guilty of all the Charges & sentenced to Receive for being about with[out] Leave Fifty & For Stealing one hundred Lashes, the Col. orders he shall Receive one hundred Lashes well Laid on' Alexander Drisdel Confin'd on the Same Charges, to Receive the same Punishment the whole to be put in execution this Evening. Thos. Roberts & Alex'r Drisdel to be Put under Stopages of half Pay until they Shall Pay Barritt the money the stold from him. Capt. Hambleton was tried for Card Playing, Contempt of the Services Reduced to a Private Sentinel and Receive fifteen Lashes, the Col. approved the First part of the Sentence But in Concideration of his former good Carrector [was] induced to Remit the Corporal Punishment.

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[29] Presumed to be Lieutenant John Crawford, of the Second Virginia regiment.

[30] Clough Skelton, appointed Captain Sixth Virginia regiment, January 13, 1778.

HEAD QUARTERS LIGHT INFANTRY,
Sept. 2nd.

Field officer to-morrow Major Hull, field officer for Piquett this night Colo. Gary, adjt. to-Morrow Murray, orderly sergt. Morrow from Putnam's and Butler's Regt.

Detail	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd		1.	2.	3.	40.

Officer for Guard to-morrow Lt. Knox.

G. O. Head Quarters More's House * *

The Commander in Chief has the Pleasure to announce the following Resolutions which the honarable the Congress have Pleasure to Pass for the Benefit of the Army, the Disposition Manafested in these Resolves is a Fresh Pruff to the army that their Country Entertains a high Sense of their Merits and Sweets [*sic*] and are inclined to Confirm an honarable adaquitt compensation, the Genl. flatters himself their Respective States will Second the Generous V[o]ices of Congress and take Every Proper Measure to Gratify the reasonable Expectation of such Officers and Soldiers as are Determined to Share the Glory of Serving their Co[u]ntry and themselves throughout the War and finishing the task they have so Nobly begun, the flourishing aspect of officers in Europe and in the West indies as well as in the United States Gives us Every Person to beleave the happy Pride will Speedily Ar[r]ive.

In Congress, Augt. 16, 1779:

Resolved that the Clothier General Estimate the value of the several articles of Soldiers' Clothing at the Prices they were respectively worth at the end of the year 1878, and forthwith transmit such estimate to the Pay-Masters of the several Regiments who shall be furnished out of the Military Chests. with money to pay the soldiers for the deficiences of clothing at the Estimated Price of every article as are fixed by the Clothier General who shall henceforward transmit the estimates before the close of every year during the war so that the soldiers be paid by the regimental pay-master according to such estimates annu-

ally and previous to their discharge when the same happens before the end of the year, for all articles of clothing allowed them by the resolution of Congress of the 6th of September, 1777, which they have not received and which are or shall be due to them after the year last mentioned.

In Congress, August 17, 1779:

Whereas the Army of the United States of America have by their patriotism, valor and perseverance in defence of the rights and liberties of their country become entitled to the gratitude as well as the approbation of their fellow citizens,

Resolved, That it be and it is hereby recommended to the several States that have not already adopted measures for that purpose, to make such further provision for the officers and for the soldiers enlisted for the war, to them respectively belonging who shall continue in service until the establishment of peace as shall be an adequate compensation for the many dangers, losses and hardships they have suffered and been exposed to in the course of the present contest, either by granting to their officers half-pay for life, and proper rewards to their soldiers; or in such other manner as may appear most expedient to the legislatures of the several States.

Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommend to the several States to make such provision for the widows of such of these officers and soldiers who are enlisted for the war or have died, or may die in the service as shall secure to them the sweets of that liberty for the maintainance of which their husbands nobly laid down their lives.

Resolved, August 18, 1779, That until the further order of Congress the said officers be entitled to receive for their subsistence money the sums following, to-wit: Each Colonel and Brigade Chaplain 500 dollars; every Lieutenant Colonel 400 dollars; every Major and Regimental Surgeon 300 dollars; every Captain 200 dollars; and every Lieutenant, Ensign and Surgeon's Mate 100 dollars.

Resolved, That until the further order of Congress the sum of 10 dollars be paid to every non-commissioned officer and soldier monthly for their subsistence in lieu of those articles originally intended for them and not furnished.

LIGHT INFANTRY ORDERS,

September 4th, '79.

Field [officers] To-morrow Maj'r Murphy, Ditto for Picquett this night Colo. Butler, adjutant to-morrow Benjamin, Ordily Serg'ts [from] Putnam's and Butler's Reg'ts. At a Gen'l Cort Marshall held the 30th of Aug't, whereof Col. Putnam was President, Lt. Manyard of the Massachusets Line was Tried on a Charge Exhibited against him By Lt. Col. Fleury For Disobedience of orders and want of Respect for a Field officer on Duty and hendering him from his visit of Guards, the Cort after Considering the Charges against him, the Evidence and his Defence thereof oppinion that he is guilty of the First Charge & of the latter part of the second, he havin By Detainin Lt. Col. Fleury a Prisoner all night acted contrary to the Instructions given by the Inspector Gen'l and hendered the Col. From Persueing his visiting the guards which might have Been atten[d]ed with Bad consequences, the Cort do therefore sentence Lt. Manyard to be Private[ly] Repremand[ed] For a conduct so highly Repprehen-[s]able as that which Lt. Manyard is found guilty of & which [the] Lives and safety of so many Brave & valliable officers & men were immediately concerned, the cannot consent to be [*sic*] therefore orders Lt. Manyard out of arest & to Return to his Duty in the Light Infantry. At the same Cort Marshall Sam'l Harriss, Duncan McKenley & James Rarridon were tried for Leaving the Serg't & Giting Drunk when on Patrole & thret[en]ing to kill Serg't Lovel of Col. Putnam's Regiment. Found Guilty By the Cort, Sam'l Harriss to Receive one hundred Lashes on his Bare Back well Laid on, James Rarridon one hundred do. & Duncan McKenley to Receive Fifty Lashes on his Bare Back well Laid on. The Gen'l approves the sentence of the Cort & orders the Punishment to take Place to-morrow Evening at Retreat beating. the Cort Marshall whereof Col. Putnam was President is Dissolved.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily gd.	–	1.	2.	2.	46.

Officer for Guard to-morrow Lt. Walker.

LIGHT INFANTRY AFTER ORDERS [*sic*],
September 6th, '79.

At a Gen'l Cort Marshal held this Day whereof Maj'r Stewart was President, Wm, Matlock Soldier in Capt. Talburt's Company of Col. Butler's Reg't of Light Infantry, Charged with theft and escaping from the Quarter Guard, Disertion & attempting to go to the Enemy, was found Guilty of the whole of the Charges & Unanimously Sentenced to Suffer Death. When any Soldier becomes so Lost to Every Sence of Vallue & honour as to Be capable of commiting the Chrimes of which the above named Prisoner is found Guilty of, is no Longer fit [to] Exist in a Land of Liberty or to Remain a Disgrace to the Name of a Soldier. Gen'l Wayne therefore confirm[s] the Sentence passed by the Cort Marshall & the Same Wm. Matlock to Be shot to Death at Six o'clock this Evening, the whole of the Troops to assemble at that hour on the Grand Parade & attend the Execution. Col. Febiger is appointed President of the Cort Marshal vice Maj'r Stewart, which is set To-morrow at ten o'clock at the President's Quarters for the trial of Lt. Col. Fleury, Charged by Lt. Manyard first for ungentlemanlike behavior, second for abusing him Lt. Manyard with Insulting Language when on duty, all Evidence & Parties to have notice and attend, three Capts. from Each Regt. to attend as members.

LIGHT INFANTRY ORDERS,
Sept. 9th, 1779.

Field Officer To-morrow Majr. Stewart, Field Officer Picquett this night Major Murphy, adjt to-morrow Farell, Ordely Sergts. from Meggs' & Febiger's Regt.

	C	S	S	C	P
Daily gd.	1.	1.	3.	2.	49

L. I. O. NEAR FORT MONTGOMERY,
Sept. 10, '79.

Field officer To-morrow Majr. Murphy, Field officer for Picquett this Night Lt. Col. Shurman, Adjt. to-morrow Maury.

At a Genl. Cort Martial held the 9th of this instant whereof Col. Febiger was President, Lt. Col. Fleury [was tried] on a Charge Brought by Lt. Manyard for ungentleman Like behaviour & for Insulting Language when on Guard. The Cort after [having] mateurly Considered the Charges Exhibited against Lt. Col. Fleury & the Evidences, the Majority are of oppinion that he is guilty of ungentlemanlike behaviour and making use of Insulting Language to Lt. Manyard, But think the Provocation he Receiv'd from Lt. Manyard, & having suffered arrest, Sufficient atonement for his Crime. The frequent arrest[s] which hath Lately taken Place in a Corps that have acquainted [*sic*—acquired?] so much Glory as to become not only the admiration but the Envy of many, and upon whose Conduct the Eyes of the World is fixed Give a sensation which the Gen'l can much Better feel than Express, it affords matter of Joy to our Publick Enemy & triumph to our Invidious Friends, if any there be; therefore wishes the officers to Indeavour to Cultivate that harminey and friendship that ought to subsist amongst so distinguished a Corps & which Render them Respectable to their friends & to violate there Enemys [*sic*]; but should there unfortunately be a misunderstanding among any of the officers in futer, he wishes them to settle it amicably or find some other mode than that of Court Martials or Less it be a very Extraordinary Case in Deed. Genl. Wayne orders Lt. Col. Fleury Immediately out of arrest and to take Command of his Battalion, the Court Martial whereof Colo. Febiger was President is Disolved.

Detale	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd,		1.	2.	3.	49

L. I. O. New Fort Montgomery,
Sept. 12th, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Col. Putnam, Ditto for Picquett this Night Col. Febiger. Ordely Serg't From Col. Butler & Putnam's Reg'ts. the Gen'l Finds it absolutely necessary to Desire the officers to be Particularly to Keep the Men in Cam[p] as much as Possible. No Permit But from the Commanding offi-

cers of Regiments will be admited & that towards West Point only, and it is very unserting at what moment a movement may take Place, no Soldier, But in case of absolute necessity will be Permited to Pass In front or towards the Enimy's Lines which is necessary to be certified by an officer with the name of the Soldier so in Dulged, when he will Receive a Permit from the Light Infantry head quarters all Inhabitance Bringing any Kind of Produce to Camp to be admited in But not Return with out a Pass from the Commanding officer of the Light Corps for the time being at his order.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd.	1.	1.	2.	2.	47.

After orders. members of a Gen'l Cort martial to Set to-morrow from the Light Infantry, Maj'r Stewart, Capt. Shelton & Champion.

G. O. West Point,
Sept'r ye 12th, 1779.

The Gen'l Court marshel whereof Col. Marshell[31] is Prisident is Desolved. a Gen'l Court martial of the Line ordered to set to-morrow morning at nine o'clock at the usual Place for the trial of such Prisoners as shall Come before them whereof Col. Putnam is President, a Capt. from the Mariland Line, a Lt. Col. or Maj'r and one Capt. From the Pencilvania Line, the Garrison Light Infantry & Connecticut Line gives a Lt. Col. or Maj'r [and] 2 C'p'ts for the Court.

L. I. O. Monday, Fort Montgomery,
Sept. 13th, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Col. Febiger, Ditto for Picquett this night Maj'r Posey, adj't to-morrow Farell, Ordily Serg'ts from Col. Meggs' & Febiger's Reg'ts.

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[31] Colonel Thomas Marshall of the Third Virginia regiment, specially distinguished himself at the battle of Brandywine, where his regiment bore the brunt of the British assault led by Cornwallis in person; the father of Chief Justice John Marshall; after the Revolution removed to Kentucky, where he engaged in surveying.

A Fatigue Party from Each Regt. under Proper officers to be sent at two o'Clock this after noon to Clear the Parade on Top of the hill as marked out the 4th Inst. or last Sunday week.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily g'd	1.	1.	3.	3.	48.
Fatigue.		1.	1.	1.	16.

Officer for guard to-morrow Capt. Gamble & Lt. Craford, Ditto for Fatigue Lt. Coalman.

L. I. Camp, Fort Montgomery,
Sept. 14th, '79.

Field officer for to-morrow Lt. Col. Johnston,[32] Ditto for Picquett this Night Col. Meggs, Ordily Sergt's from Putnam's & Butler's Regt's, the whole Corps to Prarade Day after to-morrow at 8 o'Clock in the morning * * themselves arms & accutrements in the most Soldierly order Possible the New Guard with their Respective Regiments. When the Gen'l Beats on the Right will be the Signal to Strike and Pack their tents on Beating a March on the Right. the whole will move in the Following order, Colo. Febiger by the Left and Colo. Butler by the Right, Colo. Putnam by the Right and Colo. Meggs by the Left and take Post on the Hill in the Rear of Garrison Leaven. Proper Intervill to Form front to the west-ward which will Throw Colo. Febiger & Butler to the North & Colo. Putnam & Meggs to the South, the officer will be ancerble for Every man belonging to their Respective Corps.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	0.	1.	3.	2.	49.

R. O. *Sept. 14, '79.*

Serg't Griffin of Capt. Montgomery['s] Comp'y having for some misbehavour Been Reduced to a Private Sentinel By a Cort martial, the Col. thought Proper to approve it, But in Concideration of his Former Good Charactor and his Present Good

[32] This was probably Francis Johnston, of the Fifth Pennsylvania Regiment.

Dispersition is Pleased [to] Reinstate him in his former Rank as Serg't in said Comp'y & to Be obeyed accordingly. Capt. Montgomery will have this order Read at the head of his Comp'y at Retreat Beating to-morrow Evening when he will Reinstate him in form & he is still to Rank as Serg't from his first appointment. Lt. Col. Fleury will Immediately Call the man before him who fired his Gun to-day & severely Reppremand him & Inform him that nothing but his state of health Could induce the Col. Pard[on]ing his Point of Disobedience of Orders & that If he is Guilty again he shall Receive Double Punishment. he is to be Released from his Confinement.

CHRISTIAN FEBIGER, *Col.*

L. I. O. FORT MONTGOMERY,
Sept. 15th, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Maj'r Murphy, Ditto for Picquett this Night Col. Febiger, Agt. to-morrow Thompson.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	1.	1.	3.	3.	48.

Officers for Guard to-morrow Capt. Hutson & Lt. Coleman.

R. O. *Sept. 18th, 1779.*

A Regimental Cort Martial to set to-morrow morning at ten o'clock for the trial of the Prisoners under the Quarter guard Capt. Gamble to preside, Lt. Coalman & Ens'n Fillips to attend as members. Officers Commanding Companies are to make out Returns of what arms, ammunition and accoutrements & Cloathing are wanting in their Respective Companys, to the Col. Immediately.

CHRISTIAN FEBIGER, *Col.*

Sept'r 18th, 1779.

William Askins of my Comany is appointed a Corporal and is to be obeyed & Respected as such.

RO. GAMBLE,
Capt. 1st R. L. I.

L. I. O. Saturday, *Sept. 18th, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Col. Febiger, Ditto for Picquett this Night Maj'r Posey, adj't to-morrow, Maury.

The Gen'l Calls on the officers of this Corps to Pay the strictices & Immediate attention of the menuvering of the troops agreable to the mode & Rules Laid Down by the Barren Stewben. the officers will Carfully Exammen the State and Condision of the Arms, accutrements, ammunision and Clothing of their respective Comp's and see that Every thing be in Rediness to move at a moment's notis as it is more than Proverble that the next Post will [be] in an Inhabited Contry [and] the Eyes of Every Individual will be on the Light Infantry & those Officers & Battalions most esteemed who make the Best appearance on the Parrade. the Gen'l once more Calls the attention of every officer & Soldier to this assential Business as not a moment is to be Lost.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	1.	1.	2.	2.	49.

Officers for Guard to-morrow Capt. Booker and Lt. Knox.

L. I. O. Camp near Fort Montgomery,
Sept. ye 20th, 1779.

Field officer to-Morrow Major Murfree, Field Officers for Picquett this Night Colo. Febiger, Adj't to-Morrow Benjamin.

The Q. M. are Immediately to see each Company in his Respective Reg't are Furnished with two Good Axes. all such on the Ground unfit for Further Service to be Collected this Afternoon & be Exchanged for others. 4 Spades & Shovels will be also wanting. Each Reg't the whole to be Kept by the Q. Mr. or Q. M. Serg't who will be accountable for the whole at a moment's warning.

After Orders—the Troops to Cook two Days Provisions Immediately & hold themselves in Rediness to march at a moment's warnen, the Pack Horses to [be] kept with their Respective [Companies ?]

L. I. O. Near Fort Montgomery,
Sept. 20th, '79.

Field Officer to-morrow Col. Megs. Ditto for Picquett this Night Maj'r Hull, adj't To-morrow Thompson, Ordily Serg'ts from Megs's and Febiger's Reg'ts.

Extract from Gen'l Orders Sept. 20th, 1779:

At a Gen'l Court martial whereof Col. Putnam was President Colo. Butler was Tryed on the following Charge, First, for Endeavouring to Excite the soldiers of Capt. Ashmead's[33] Company to meeting by ordering the Non-Commissioned officers Not to obey any order of his Capt. Ashmead; Secondly for treeting Capt. Ashmead in an unpresidently & onofficer like manner by Refusing him Liberty to wait on Gen. Wayne to Complain of Ill Treatment and Seek Redress & sending him under Guard from the L. Infantry Camp to west Point after having Receiv'd Colo. Stewart's[34] order to go to the Infantry & take the Command of his Capt. Ashmead's Company. The Court are of Opinion that Colo. Butler is Not Guilty of the first charge, they do acquit him of Refusing Capt. Ashmead Liberty to wait on Gen'l Wayne to Complain of Ill treatment & Seek Redress, they are of Opinion that Colo. Butler was Not Justifyable in Sending Capt. Ashmead under Guard from the Lt. Infantry to west Point being a breach of [the] first article & Eighteenth section of the artickles of War & do Sentence him to be Repremanded by the Commanding officer of the Corps of Light Infantry. The Commander-in-Chief approves the Sentence & Directs it to be Carried into Execution, at the same time he thinks Colo. Butler's Conduct Blamible in not Permitting Capt. Ashmead to see Gen'l Wayne unless he would Ingage to Comply with a Condision which Colo. Butler had no Right to anex, Nor was there any mode of such Condision as there was all

[33] Captain Jacob Ashmead, of the Second Pennsylvania regiment, appointed September 6, 1776; resigned May 16, 1780.

[34] Colonel Walter Stewart transferred from the Thirteenth Pennsylvania regiment to the Second Pennsylvania regiment, July 1, 1778; died at Philadelphia, July 14, 1796.

Ways Proper meends of Enforcing disipling of Capt. Ashmead after applying to Gen'l Wayne Persistent in a Refractary behavour. to Prevent any misunderstanding in futer the Gen'l Directs that the Nomination of all Capts. & sub'r to Releave others of Nesisary or full Vacancies in the Light Corps while it Remains together to be Reported to adjutant Gen'l & Receive the approbation of the Gen'l before they be sent to take Command. for this Purpos the officers Commanding Reg'ts of L. Infantry will Report to the adjutant Gen'l the Vacanceys that hapen, who will Give Notices that Officers may be appointed from the Line to fill them, be nominated by the officers Commanding the Reg'ts from which they are taken. as Gen'l Wayne Cannot Repremand Colo. Butler for any Part of his Conduct Respecting Capt. Ashmead Without Violating his own Judgment & feelings he orders Colo. Butler Immediately out of arrest & to take Charge of his Command in the Light Infantry.

	C	S.	S	C	P.
Detale	0.	2.	3.	2.	48.

Officers for Guard to-morrow L't Fox and Ens'n Phillips.

L. I. O. Near Fort Montgomery,
Sept. 24th, '79.

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Butler. Ditto for Picquett this Night Maj'r Posey. Adjutant to-morrow Benjamine.

As a ship and one or two Galleys with some Boats has appeared in View on the side [of] Dundebarge Point the Gen'l Wishes Every Officer & Soldier to be attentive to hold them Selves in Readiness for action in Case any attempt should be made by the Enemy which is Rather more wished than Expected.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	1.	1.	3.	3.	48.

Officers for guard Capt. Lawson[35] & Lt. McDowell.

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[35] Benjamin Lawson, appointed Lieutenant, Third Virginia, March 3, 1778; promoted.

L. I. O. Fort Montgomery,
September 26th, 1779.

Field officer to-morrow. Ditto for Picquett this Night Colo. Butler, adj't to-morrow Lt. Maury.

The Gen'l once more Calls upon the Officers & Soldiers to be Carefull to have two Day[s] Provisions all Ways by them & hold themselves in Readiness Ither for marching or Action in a moments' Warning.

C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
1.	1.	2.	3.	47.

Officer for Guard Lt. Chritenton.

L. I. O. Camp near Fort Montgomery,
Tuesday Sept. 28th, 1779.

Field Officer to-morrow Maj'r Hull. Field Officer for Picquett this Night Lt. Col. Sill. adj't to-morrow Benjamin.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	1.	1.	3.	3.	48.

Officers for Guard to-morrow Capt. Booker, Lts. Craford & Coalman.

L. I. O. Camp near Fort Montgomery,
September the 29th, 1779.

Field Officer to-morrow Maj'r Steward. Ditto for Picquett this Night Lt. Col. Hay.[36] Adjutant to-morrow Farell.

The Troops are to Parade the day after to-morrow at troop beating, arms, accoutrements & ammunition in the Best order Possible with their Packs Slung & two Days Provision, Agreeable to the Standing order when the Strictices Scrutiny will be made [by] the officers into Every minucia, who will also be anserable For every Man belonging to their Respective Com-

[36] Samuel Hay, Lieutenant Colonel of the Tenth Pennsylvania; transferred from the Seventh Pennsylvania; wounded in the thigh at Stony Point; retired June 1, 1781; died in December, 1803.

panys. No Excuse can be admited for non-attendance, unsoldierly appearance, & in order to Remove Every Pretext for the latter, the Quarters master will Call on Mr. Thomas at tweive O'clock to Day Each for four pounds Sewing thread and four hundred needles, and Immediately Distribute them among the Companies in their Respective Regiments, the Commissary will Issue Soap and Candles to Each Reg't Except those who have Drawn out of the ordinary Course, in due proportion.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	.	1.	3.	2.	49.

Officer for Guard to-morrow Ens'n Phillips.

R. O. *Sept. 30th, 1779.*

An Immediate Return to be made to the Colo. Egactly Speacifying the Number of affective [men] mentioning only the men Now belonging to the Corps Exclusith of those gone to the Hospital as those are soposed to be Retained wanting to Compleat, Likewise mentioning from what Regiments the Men are to be Draughted who are to Supply their Places that they may be Sent for those Barefooted are to be Returned in a Collum by themselves, it is with astonishment and Sorrow the Colo. observed that the men Insted of taking Pride in keeping them Selves Clean & neat are Daily decreasing in the very Necessary Point appearing on the Paraae Durty & Slovenly with their Caps Laped & Sloughed about their Ears, he therefore Positively orders the officers whose Duty it is & whose Reputation in a Greate measure Depends on the appearance of their men to Pay the strictest attention to this Point & not suffer their men to appear to-morrow or any other time thereafter on Parade in such an on Soldierly like maner as here to fore, any man of Fealing must know how Disagreeable it is to a Commanding officer to Report orders of this Nature & hopes this will be the Last of the kind he will be under [the] necessity of Issueing. The Colo. Not being able to Precure Sine [*sic*] Shoes for the Officers that Each Officer Field & Staff

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L. I. O. *Octob'r 4th, 1779.*

Field Officer Lt. Colo. Sill. Ditto for Picquett the Col. Butler ; adjutant Lt. Maury.

C	S.	S.	P. F.
4.	4.	4.	200.

To Parade Immediately at the Turn of the Road on this side Harvie Straw Forge all the Guards in frunt to march to Smith's white house under the Command of the Officer of the Day & the Remainder of the troops to hold themselves in Readyness to march at a moment's warning.

	C	S	S	C	Pr
Detale	1.	1.	1.	1.	49.

Officers for Detachm't Captain Booker and Lieut. Coalman.

L. I. Orders Near Harve Straw Forge,
Octr. 5, '79.

Field Officer to-morrow Lt. Col. Hay. Ditto for Picquett this Night, Col. Febiger. Adjutant to-morrow Lt. Thompson. The Q. Masters are Immediately to heave Vaults Dug one hundred and Fifty Y'ds in Front of the men & one hundred Y'ds in Rear for the Officers. Any Soldier Violating the Clearly disposion of the Camp will be Punished with great Severity. Frequent & Heavy Complaints having been Lodged with the Gen'l of the Depredations Committed by the Soldiers, he Calls on the Officers to exert themselves in detecting Marroditers [marauders ?] & when they Remember that this Army was Raised to Protect & not to oppress the Inhabitance, he is sure that Injuries so Repugnant to Freedom & so contrary to the Conduct of the Corps will never more be practised. The B. Q. M. will deliver to the Q. M. of Each Reg't their proportion of the axes.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	0.	0.	2.	2.	35.

R. O. one sub Serg't, Corp'l & 24 Privates to parade to-morrow morning at Sun Rise as a Fatigue to Clear the Regimental Parade, the officers will Receive his Orders from the Colo.

L. I. O., *Octobr. 6th, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Maj'r Steward. Adj't to-morrow Benjamin. The whole Corps to Parade to morrow morning at Seven O'Clock with their arms. Ammunition & accoutrements in the Best order. This afternoon they will Improve in Furbishing up their Cloaths so as to make the best & most Soldierly appearance possible. The officers will be punctual as to the point of time & be Careful that Every Soldier be present.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale,	1.	1.	2.	2.	33.

Officer for Guard Capt. Hudson & Ensign Phillips.

L. I. O. KAHINT, *Friday Octo'r 8th, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Col. Putnam. Adj't to morrow Lt. Maury. Orderly Serg'ts from Colo. Putnams & Butler's Reg'ts for Light Infantry Head Quarters to-morrow.

S.	S.	Rank & file.
1.	1.	20.

To Parade this Evening at 5 o'clock with two Days Provisions Excusith this Day. He will Receive his Orders from Maj'r Posey.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale,	1.	1.	2.	2.	34.
Detachment,		1.	0.	0.	4.

Officers for Guard Capt. Lawson & Lt. McDowell. Officer for Detachment Crittenden.

G. O. LIGHT INFANTRY KATIAH, *Oct'r 9th, '79.*

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Megs. Adj't To-morrow Lt. Thompson. Orderly Serg'ts from Megs' & Febiger's Reg'ts. The Officers are to be Particularly attentive to the Cloathing of

their men & See that their Arms, ammunition & accoutrements are in Proper Order. The whole Corps to Parade at Eight O'Clock on Monday Morning.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale,	1.	0.	2.	2.	34.

Officer for Guard Lieut. Walker.

LIGHT INFANTRY HEADQUARTERS, KATIAH,
Oct'r 11, '79.

Field officer to-morrow Colo. Febiger. Adj't to-morrow Mr. Ballard. Orderly Serg'ts from Meges' & Febiger Reg'ts.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale,	0.	1.	2.	2.	34.

Officer for Guard Lieut. Phillips.

LIGHT INFANTRY KAKEYATTE,
13th Oct'r, 1779.[37]

Frequent complaints are made to me that notwithstanding there are three Women who draw Rations in my Company—the Men Receive no benefit by Washing from them—for the future, to prevent complaints of this sort, and the more equitable distribution of the business amongst them. Sergeant Grymes will immediately divide the Company into three Squads as may be most agreeable to them and give each woman a list of those she is obliged to wash for—who will deliver her the soap they draw and pay her the stimulated [*sic*] price—except when the soap is not sufficient & she is obliged to purchase—then they must make a reasonable allowance—but on no pretence whatever is she on an average to exceed two Dollars ℔ Dozen. the Woman's Just Accounts shall be punctually paid at the End of every month by the men except she chuses to wait Longer. If any of the Women of my Company are properly convicted of refusing to comply with this reasonable Order, for the first fault her whole Rations

[37] In the autograph of Captain Gamble.

shall be stopt—& and for the second she shall be dismissed with disgrace as a useless charge & Expence to the Continent.

L. I. O. KAHIAT—*Octob'r ye 12th, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Lt. Colo. Fleury, Adj't from Febiger's Reg't. Ordily Serg'ts From Putnam's & Butler's [regiments] The Broken and Extream Bad Ground heretofore Occupied By the Light Corps has prevented any manuvers Being practised By [the] Spirit Laid [down] in the Baron Stuben's Care of Military Discipline, But having Now taken a position that with a Little Trouble will admit of performing Most of the Useful manuvers, The Gen'l Desires the Field Officers to Cause the whole to Exercise in Battalions from Reville untill Seven O'clock Each morning, the New Guard with their Respective Corps, and from four O'clock in the afternoon untill Retreat Beating By Regiments, the Old Guards to fall in with their Respective Corps. The Gen'l wishes the Officers to attend at present to the manuvers Contained in * * to Chap'r 14th. inclusive 2. Capts, 2 Sub's, 4 Serg'ts & 30 Rank & File to parade to-morrow morning with Every Ax & Spade in the Corps which was Collected by the Respective Q. Masters, this Evening, the Officers will receive their Orders from Gen'l Wayne. Adjutants of Each Regiment will furnish Maj'r Fishbourn with a Weekly Return of their Respective Regiments, they will be accordingly Carefull in making their Returns to account for Every man in the Corps as the Roster Must be form'd from them.

DETALE OF GUARDS

	C	S	S.	C	P.
Picquett	1.	0.	2.	2.	34.
Fatigue		1.	1.	1.	12.

L. I. O. *15th Octob'r, '79*

Field officer to-morrow Maj'r Stewart. Field Officer for Picquett this Night Lt. Col. Sill,[38] Adj't for the Day, Ballard.[39]

[38] David T. Still, Lieutenant-Colonel First Connecticut Regiment, appointed March 5, 1778.

[39] Lieutenant William Ballard, of the Virginia line, received March 7, 1782, 2,666⅔ acres of land for three years' service.

Orderly Sergt's from Meigs and Febiger's Reg'ts. The Loadable [laudable] Emmulation which Prevales Every Brigade & division in the army ought no where to be so conspicuous as this Corps which from present appearance May Very soone parade through Town & Cittys from which they have been Long Excluded and Eyes of citizens & Country would be more full upon the American Light Infantry than any other part of the army, the Gen'l Cort Doubt but Every Officer without distinction will Exert himself in Causing his more Immediately to furbish up the Arms & Cloathing in the best and neatest maner Possible, they have now & opening & Lather [*sic*] for the purpose, therefore no time or pains will be spared for the whole Corps to parade the day after to-morrow, the New Guard, with their Respective Regiments, the officers will concider themselves anserable for the Soldierly appearance of their men. The Gen'l observes many of the Soldiers who mount Guard Coming on the guard with long Beards & unpowdered & others the powder slovenly put on so therefore Desires the Brigade Maj'r not in futer to Except [*sic*] of any Such for Guard or any march without a bayonet but Immediately put them in & on fatigue or Camp Duty in Order to prevent the Loss of Bayonets or other material, the Field [Officer] will once Every day Inspect the Arms, Ammunition & accutrements of their Respective Battalions & make Camp Coullermda of all such that at present [are] without Bayonets & Furnish in the directest maner such as may Loose their Bayonets in futer for that Man who Looses so Cappital a wepion must be a very worthless & cowardly Soldier who is Determined to Ju[s]tify his Flight in the face of his Enemy for the want of the Bayonet. The Troops in futer will manuver But once a day that is from 4 O'clock till Retreat beating, the Old Guards will parade with their Respective Companies, the Camp picquett to assemble on the Grand parade Every night at Retreat Beating & Receive their Orders from the field officer of the picquett.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale,			2.	2.	32

R. O. KAKIAT HIGHTS, *Oct. 17th, 1779.*

The Q. Masters is immediately to make application to Brigade Q. Master for the Deficiencys of Cartridges wanting to Com-

plete each man with his Rounds. The Commanding Officers of Companies will Immediately Cause the Axes in their Respective Companies to be Immediately Ground & put in the best order possible. Each Orderly Serg't Will make out an Immediate Return of the Cartridges wanting in There Companies.

L. I. O. KAKIAT,
Oct'r 18th, 1779.

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Megs. Field Officer for Picquett this Night Maj'r Posey, Adj't Ballard, Orderly Serg'ts from Colo. Megs & Febiger's Reg'ts.

All the Axes belonging to the Light Infantry are to be Immediately Corlected by the Regimental Q. M., Ground & Repaired as Quick as Possible.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	0.	0.	1.	2.	33.

R. O. LIGHT INFANTRY,
Oct. 22nd.

Gen'l Wayne has observed with Great Concern That the Virginians are the only troops in the Light Infantry that has not procured Hair for their Caps. The Colo. is induced to Repeat the Order for that purpose once more And Directs the Officers to take the most speedy and Effectual means to procure that Article, no officers to Mount Gard or go on the grand parade Without a Cap, if he has not one of his own, he will [be] kind a nuff to borrow

FLEURY, LT. COLO.
Commandant 1st. R. L. I.

C. O. *Oct'r 24th, 1779.*[40]

Captain Gamble is much pleas'd that notwithstanding the Soldiers had drawn two days rum yesterday, Ensgn. Phillips says not one of his Company was drunk on the Parade—the Capt. earnestly wishes this good conduct may continue & would fondly

[40] In the autograph of Captain Gamble.

hope it—But as the Commissary will soon have Liquor to Issue exclusive of what the Virg'a State so Generously has begun to Supply us with and as it may be most propper to draw several days at once on account of the distance, Soldiers who are accustomed to get drunk will by this means have it in their power. But the Captain is determined to suppress a practice distructive of good order & military discipline and does most peremptorily declare that the first man of his Company who he may catch Disguised with Liquor either on or off guard shall for the first offence have his Rum stop'd for two weeks both from the State & Commissary store, and be denied those privileges of recreation which a good and orderly Soldier can be occasionally indulged with—& for the Second Offence shall have added to this punishment whatever the sentence of a Court Martial may inflict without favour to any Individual.

L. I. O. KAKIAT, *October 23rd, 1779.*

Field officer to-morrow Maj'r Chapman, For Picquett Maj'r Posey. Adj't Ballard, Orderly Serg'ts from Megs & Febiger's Regt's. the troops to parade for Review at ten O'clock to-morrow morning, the New Guards with their Respective Regt's & the orders Respecting the two days Provisions Being all ways on hand & Ready Cooked Must be Particularly Observed. the Gen'l has notesed Some Neglect with Regard to the Caps and Cloaths of part of his Troops which Others have in the Cource of two or three days after Joining the Corps fully Complyed with, that order he therefore Must Conclude that the omission presides from inattention or want of meens, the whole Corps to hold themselves in perfect Readiness to march at a moment's warning, no Soldier to Leave Camp on pain of Immediate punishment without a permit from the Commanding Officer of the Reg't or Battalion to which he belongs & that Indulgence to be only but upon Very particular occations, the nature of the Service, situation & Circumstances of the Corps Renders any other mode very improper. the Disorderly mode of beating the Revalee, troop & Retreat in this Corps Renders it highly necessary to fix on some Signal for the whole to beat of together, therefore in futer the taps to begin on the Right of the First Dawn of day &

to pass to & be answared from the left when the whole will begin the Ruffle, the same Ruffle to be observed for the troops or Retreat or any other Beats of the Drum that may be found necessary.

	C	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale.			2.	2.	33.

R. O. *25th October '79*, KAKIAT.

Court Marshel to Set immediately for the Tryal of the Prisoners in the Quarter guard. Regimental Returns for the future to be made to the Virg'a State Store for the Liquor wich is to be Drawn for the men, for wich Purpose The Commanding officers of Companys will make Returns of their Respective Companys to the Quarter Master. The Q. M. to Digest them into a Regimental return & Singe [sign] it, after Wich it will be Singd by the Commanding officer of the Redg't & Sent by a Careful Serg't who will Draw the Liquor & Deliver it to the Orderly Serg'ts of Each Comp'y or Who Ever the Commanding officer of Each Company may appoint to the Care of the Liquor, The Commanding Officer of Each Company will see to have the Money Collected & Sent by the Serg't who is to Draw for the Redg't & will pay Particular Attention that when the Soldiers draw more than one gill of Liquor a day not to Deliver it to them only as the Commanding officer of the Company shall think proper.

T. POSEY, *Maj'r Com'd'g.*

R. O. KAKIAT, *October ye 26th, 1779.*

Serg't Grifee of Capt. Montgomery's Company be appointed Orderly Serg't of said Company Vice Serg't Arbright & is to be Respected and obeyed accordingly. the Commanding officers of Companies to Make Retturns of their Respective Companies for the Rum to be Drawn from the State Store Agreeably to the orders of yesterday. At a Court Martial whereof Capt. Gist was president, Saml Hunt of Capt. Lawson's Comp'y in the 1st Battalion Light Infantry was tryed for Insolence & Mutiny. the Court after maturely considering the Evidence find the Prisoner Guilty of the Charges exhibited against him and do sentence him to Receive Sixty Lashes. The Command-

ing Officer Looks upon the Charge to be Crime of the Deepest Die but it being a Crime which the Prisoner Never had before been Guilty and the Prisoner always behaving himself as a Good Soldier, & at the Intercession of a number of Officers the Commanding officer Remits the Punishment & orders the prisoner to be Released from his Confinement.

At a Court Martial whereof Capt. McClelin [41] was President, James Black [a] Soldier of Capt. Montgomery's Company of the 2nd Battalion of the First Reg't of Light Infantry Charged with Stealing a ham of Bacon, is found Guilty of the Charge Exhibited against him as a breach of Section 18th article 5th of the articles of War & do sentence him to Receive fifty Lashes on his Bare back the Commanding Officer approves the sentence & orders it to be put in Execution at Review beating. Serg't Ballance of Capt. Hudson's Comp'y is appointed, to Do. the Duty of Q. M. Serg't to the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry and is to be Respected accordingly.

THOS. POSEY,
Maj'r Comdt 1st Reg't L. Infantry.

LIGHT INFANTRY, PERAMMONS, *October 31st, 1779.*

Field Officer Maj'r Hull. Ditto for Picquett Colo. Butler Adj't Lt. Ballard, Orderly Serg'ts from Megs' & Febiger' Reg'ts. Cleanliness being ever conducive to health, the Gen'l wishes the strictest attention of every officer to this particular Point. The Q. Masters will be Governed by the Orders of the 5th Inst with Respect to the Incampment which is to be Read at Retreat beating. The Whole Corps to Parade at Revally the Day after to-morrow with two days Provisions, the officers will be accountable for for Every Man Capable of Duty & will examine the arms, ammunition, Clothing, and accoutrements of their Respective Corps to-morrow Evening to the end that every man be in Readiness at a Moment's warning.

Detale	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Dayly g'd		1.	3.	2.	34

For G'd Lt. Walker.[42]

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[41] Joseph McClellan, appointed Captain Ninth Pennsylvania July 15, 1776; transferred to the Second Pennsylvania, Colonel Walter Stewart; resigned June 10, 1781; died October 24, 1834.

[42] Lieutenant David Walker of the First Virginia Regiment.

L. I. O. PERAMMONS, *1st November, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Maj'r Stewart; for Picquett Maj'r Durry, Orderly Serg'ts from Megs' & Butler's Reg'ts.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale	1.	1.	2.	3.	33.

For G'd Capt. Booker & Lt. Crawford.

L. I. O. *November 5th, 1779.*

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Butler, Ditto for Picquett this Night Maj'r Posey, Orderly Serg'ts from Colo. Putnam's & Butler's Reg'ts. Some late Intelligence Renders it necessary for the Corps to be Prepared to seek or meet the Enemy, the Gen'l wishes the Officers to make the Strictest Inspection to the Condition of the ammunition, arms, accoutrements & Clothing of their Respective Companies that nothing May be Wanting and Every man in Readiness to act at a moment's warning. the Commissary will Immediately Send Waggons & Bring the Rum & other Surplus from the Landing.

A Sub[altern] & 20 men to Parade at 4 o'clock this Evening as an Escort, he will Receive his orders at the Genl's quarters. The Troops will Manover from 3 till 4 o'Clock agreeable to a former order, at ten O'clock the whole troop to Parade the day after to-morrow, the Field officer will be Furnished with a copy of the manuver to be Performed. Every Officer & Soldier will be Present as No excuse will be admitted.

A gill of Rum will be Issued to Each man on Parade after manuvering is over & to None Elce.

	S.	C.	G'd.
Detale	1.	3.	33.
Daily G'd Detach't			4.

L. I. O. *November ye 6th, 1779*, PERAMMONS.

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Butler, Ditto for Picquett this Night Colo. Simms[43] [?] Orderly Serg'ts From Megs' & Febi-

[43] Charles Simms, appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second Virginia July 12, 1777; resigned December 9, 1779.

ger's Reg'ts. The Troops Will Leave of Work & Improve this after Noon in Washing their Lining & Repairing their Cloathes And Furbishing up their Arms. the Tents are to be Struck and the Baggage Loaded up at Troop beating, the whole Will Parade for Inspection at ½ after 8 o'Clock & take their time of march at 9 o'Clock in the morning. Two Days Provisions to be Drawn & Cooked this Evening. the Old Guards will Join their Respective Reg'ts at Sunrise. Every Soldier Capable of Duty to march with the Company. The Q. Masters will Receive their Orders as Soone as the Bagage is Ready to move.

Detale	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Daily G'd	1.	0.	2.	2.	34.

R. Orders, *Nov'r ye 7th, 1779.*

The tents to be Pitched Immediately & Chimneys Fixt to them in the Best manner with all Possible Expedition, the Q. Master will Furnish a waggon Load of Straw which is to be Distributed to the Companies, a Corp'l & 6 [men] at the Colo. quarters & 1 Corp'l & 4 [men] for Camp Q. Guard. The Officers are enjoined in the strictest maner to Prevent the men from Destroying the Fencies or any thing belonging to the Inhabitance. No officer nor Soldier to be permitted to go into the Country unless It is the Officers Waiters for whose Conduct their Masters will be answerable, without a pass from the Colo. or Maj'r.

Christian Febiger,
Colo. 1st R. L. I.

The Commissary will Immediately engage all the Roots & Vegetables he can procure for the use of the Troops for which he will give Beef in barter on Such Days as he supplies them with Vegetables, he will only Issue ¾ lb. Flour p'r Ration with Full alowance of Beef Salt this being a Mode recommended by his Excellency Gen'l Washington and excepted by the Army. the officers & men will be convinced of the Impropriety of Granting permits to go in quest of Vegetables, a practice of this kind will have a tendency to forestall the Markets and prevent a Gen'l Supply. The whole Corps to parade to-morrow Morning

with their arms, ammunition & accutrements in the Best order & they will Carry no Baggage but their Blankets and one Day's Provisions. the Officers will be Carefull that Every Man Capable off Duty turn out on the occasion. they very probably will be all wanting. the additional Camp Guard Dismount this Evening at Retreat.

A Gen'l Court Martial to set this afternoon at 1 o'Clock for the Trial of all Such Prisoners as may be Brought before them all parties and Evidences to have Notes & attend.

Maj'r Posey to preside, three Capts. from Each Reg't Except Colo. Putnam's who gives four Captains as members at the hour appointed they will attend at the president's quarter.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale.		1.	2.	3.	33.
C. M.					3.

Officer for guard Lt. Phillips.

L. I. O. ACQUACKANUNEH, *November 13th, '79.*

Field Officer to-morrow Colo. Butler, Ditto for picquett this Night Colo. Putnam. Adjutant, Lt. Hawkins.[44] Orderly Serg'ts from Putnam's & Butlers's Reg'ts.

	C.	S.	S.	C.	P.
Detale.		1.	2.	2.	31.

For guard to-morrow Lt. McDowell.

L. INFANTRY, *November 14th*, ACQUACKANUNEH.

Field Officer Colo. Febiger, Ditto for Picquett Colo. Megs, Orderly Serg'ts from Megs' & Febiger's Reg'ts. For Detachment at 4 o'Clock this afternoon Colo. Putnam & Maj'r Stewart, 6 Capts, 6 Sub's 12 Serg'ts, 12 Corp'ls. & 300 Privates with their arms, accoutrements & ammunition in the best order with their Blankets and Provisions—

	S.	S.	C.	P.
For to-morrow	1.	1.	1.	20—

to Mount as Brigade Guard in the Rear of the Brigade & to

[44] John Hawkins appointed Lieutenant Third Virginia regiment, September 11, 1777.

keep Constant Patroles Passing through the whole night on each Flank & Rear of the incampment. their Duty will be to take up & secure all Stranglers & Moroaders and unless they have a Pass Signed by Some Field Officer to be immediately punished with 50 lashes well laid on their bare backs. those who have passes as aforesaid are to be kept in Confinement untill the Field Officer who Signed the same Certifies whether he gave leave of Absence untill after retreat Beating & if he did not, the Culprit to receive his punishment. Capt. Van Heir will order his patrols of Horse to take up & deliver to the Off'r of the aforesaid Guard every soldier they may Meet with out of Camp, either by Day or Night that has not A proper pass to produce. The Commissary will furnish Fatt & Casks to Each Reg't for the purpose of making Soap. The Q. Master will immediately Cause the women belonging to Each Company & Batt'n to attend to this necessary Business. The Troops to manuver regularly every afternoon from 4 o'Clock till retreat beating at which time Each officer & Sold'r not on guard or other Duty will punctually attend the Field Officer or B answerable for Every Neglect of this Order. Daily Guard Capt. Lawson. For Detachment Capt. Shelton, Capt. Montgomery, Lt. Crawford, Lt. Phillips. Regimental Off' Capt. Gamble.

L. I. O. Acquakanonk,
Nov. 16th, 1779.

Field Officer Maj'r Stewart. Do. for picquett Colo. Febiger. Orderly Serg'ts from Megs' & Febiger's Regt's.

At a Regimental Court martial held the 10th Instant, John B * * , Christian Williams & Rob't * * belonging to the artillery * * * * *

List of Officers on the Establishment of Eight Regiments in 1781, with Remarks.[45]

FIRST REGIMENT.

Colonel William Davies, Command at Chesterfield.
Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Hopkins, Prisoner at Charlestown.
Major Thomas Posey, Rendezvous [at] Staunton.

Captains Nathan Reid, Rendezvous New London.
Thomas Thweatt, Prisoner—Not exchanged.
John Overton, Chesterfield.
Thomas Holt, Prisoner Charles Town.
Archibald Denholm, Southern army.
Nathan Terry, Prisoner Charlestown.
Francis Minnis, Prisoner Charlestown.
Joseph Scott, Jr., Chesterfield.
John B. Johnston, Prisoner Charlestown.

Lieutenant Philip Sansum, Southern army.
Thomas Browne, Prisoner Charlestown.
Samuel Hogg, Prisoner Charlestown.
Marks Vandewall, Prisoner Charlestown.
David Walker, Prisoner Charlestown.
Richard Worsham, Prisoner Charlestown.
David Meriwether, Prisoner Charlestown.
Ballard Smith, Southern army.
Samuel Selden, Southern army.
Joseph Conway, Prisoner Charlestown.
Thomas Barfoot, Field Quartermaster, Chesterfield.
Elisha King, Southern army.
Philip Courtney, unknown where.

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[45] This list of officers of Virginia regiments was also supplied by Dr. Cary B. Gamble, of Baltimore, Maryland, through Hon. Joseph Addison Waddell. The appended remarks indicate the condition or locality of the officer. Charlestown or Charles Town are obsolete modes of rendering Charleston, South Carolina.

Ensigns William P. Quarles, Southern army.
John Scott, New London rendezvous.
John Harris, Chesterfield.
John Carr, unknown where.
—— Drew, just appointed.
Robert Quarles.
Jordan Harris.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Colonel Christian Febiger, Command at Philadelphia.
Lieutenant Colonel Gus. B. Wallace, Prisoner Charlestown.
Major Smith Sneed, on furlough.

Captains Robert Higgins, just exchanged—absent.
John Stith, Prisoner Charlestown.
Alexander Parker, Prisoner Charlestown.
Benjamin Taliaferro, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Stokes, Prisoner on parole.
Isaiah Marks, Prisoner on parole.
Colin Cocke, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Porterfield, Prisoner Charlestown.
Francis Cowherd, Prisoner Charlestown.

Lieutenants Henry Moss, Prisoner Charlestown.
Beverley Stubblefield, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Jordan, Prisoner Charlestown.
Thomas Parker, Prisoner Charlestown.
James Mayborn, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Crawford, Southern army.
Peter Higgins, Southern army.
Benjamin Lawson, Southern army.
Thomas Miller, Southern army.
William Eskridge, Prisoner Charlestown.
James D. Laplane, Prisoner Charlestown.
Peterfield Archer, Southern army.
George Blackmore, Prisoner Charlestown.

Ensigns John Heth, Prisoner Charlestown.
George A. Washington, Aid to Marquis La Fayette.
John Foster, Southern army.

THIRD REGIMENT.

Colonel George Mathews, Prisoner on parole.
Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, Southern army.
Major William Croghan, Prisoner on parole.

Captains Will Johnston, Prisoner Charlestown.
Nathaniel Pendleton, Aid to General Greene.
Thomas Edmonds, Southern army.
John Anderson, Southern army.
John Blackwell, Prisoner Charlestown.
Will Bentley, Southen army.
Robert Beale, Prisoner Charlestown.
James Wright, Prisoner Charlestown.
Le Roy Edwards, Prisoner Charlestown.

Lieutenants Thomas Warman, on furlough.
Thomas Ransadall, Southern army.
Henry Bedinger, Rendezvous Winchester.
Tim Feely, Prisoner Charlestown.
Beverley Roy, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Livingston, Prisoner on parole.
David Miller, Prisoner Charlestown.
Benjamin Ashby, notice by letter.
Reuben Long, Southern army.
Will Stephens, Prisoner Charlestown.
David Williams, Southern army.
John Rooney, Prisoner Charlestown.
Lipscomb Norvell, Prisoner Charlestown.

Ensigns Peyton Powell, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Eustace, Chesterfield.
William McGuire, Southern army.
John Giles, Southern army.
Richard Archer, Chesterfield.

FOURTH REGIMENT.

Colonel John Nevill, Prisoner Charlestown.
Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Campbell, Southern army.
Major William Croghan, Prisoner on parole.

Captains Samuel Finley, just exchanged—Major.
Samuel Booker, Prisoner Charlestown.
Abram Kirkpatrick, Chesterfield.
Lawrence Butler, Prisoner Charlestown.
James Curry, Prisoner Charlestown.
Philip Mallory, Prisoner Charlestown.
Willis Riddick, Prisoner on parole.
James Crane, Chesterfield.
William L. Lovely, sick—absent.

Lieutenants Reuben Fields, Fredericksburg rendezvous.
John Wilson, Southern army.
James Morton, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Foster, New London rendezvous.
Philip Easton, Southern army.
James Holt, Prisoner Charlestown.
Luke Cannon, Prisoner Charlestown.
Albridgeton Jones, Southern army.
Philip Huffman, killed—Southern army.
Robert Craddock, Prisoner Charlestown.
Willis Wilson, Prisoner on parole.
Charles Erskine, C. M. S., Chesterfield.
John Crute, Prisoner on parole.

Ensigns Garvin Miller, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Hays, Prisoner Charlestown.
William Scott, unknown where.
Archibald Campbell, Southern army.
John Spitzgaddon, Southern army.
Daniel Bedinger, Winchester rendezvous.

FIFTH REGIMENT.

Colonel William Russell, Prisoner on parole.
Lieutenant-Colonel Oliver Towles, Fredericksburg rendezvous.
Major John Willis, on furlough.

Captains Henry Young, absent, just from Charlestown.
Joseph Scott, Jr., Prisoner on parole.
William Rogers, Prisoner on parole.
Thomas Parker, on furlough.
Custis Kendall, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Woodson, Prisoner—exchange uncertain.
James Culbertson, Southern army.
Charles Snead, Prisoner on parole.
Severn Teagle,[46] Prisoner—exchange uncertain.

Lieutenants Thomas Peyton, on furlough.
Thomas Martin, Rendezvous, Staunton.
Charles Stockley, on furlough.
Nathaniel Darby, on furlough.
Robert Breckinridge, Prisoner Charlestown.
Matthew Clay, Southern Army.
Thomas Coverley, on furlough.
John Robins, sick—absent.
William Robertson, furlough from Colonel Towles.
John Scarborough, exchange uncertain.

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[46] Probably Teackle.

Lieutenants Benjamin Mosely, Prisoner Charlestown.
Jonathan Smith, just exchanged, Philadelphia.
John Steele, Prisoner Charlestown.

Ensigns Jacob Brown, Prisoner Charlestown.
Archelaus Perkins, Southern army.
Zachariah Tatum, Southern army.
Thomas Seayers,[47] just appointed.
Andrew Hays, just appointed.
Josiah Payne.

SIXTH REGIMENT.

Colonel John Green, Southern army.
Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Hawes, Southern army.
Major David Stephenson, Prisoner Charlestown.

Captains John Gillison, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Spotswood, Prisoner on parole.
Clough Skelton, Prisoner Charlestown.
Nathan Lamme, Absent—sick.
James Williams, Lately with Southern army.
Mayo Carrington, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Fitzgerald, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Nelson, Prisoner Charlestown.
Thomas Hoard, Prisoner on parole.

Lieutenants Thomas Barber,[48] Prisoner Charlestown.
John Townes, Prisoner Charlestown.
Thomas Fox, Prisoner Charlestown.
Joseph Blackwell, Prisoner Charlestown.
James Hamilton, Prisoner Charlestown.
William Evans, Southern army.

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[47] In the State list, of those granted bounty lands, Sayers.

[48] In the State list, Barb*ee*.

Lieutenants Samuel Baskerville, Prisoner Charlestown.
Thomas Pearson, Prisoner on parole.
John Hackley, Southern army.
Nicholas Taliaferro, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Robertson, Prisoner Charlestown.
Charles Jones, Prisoner Charlestown.
William D. O'Kelly, Prisoner Charlestown.

Ensigns William S. Smith, Prisoner Charlestown.
Francis Smith, Southern army.
Edmund Clarke, Prisoner Charlestown.
John W. Ludiman,[49] Aid to General Washington.
Robert Green, Southern army.
Gabriel Green, gone home.
James Green, gone home.
James Barbour, gone home.
Francis Gray, gone home.

SEVENTH REGIMENT.

Colonel John Gibson, Fort Pitt.
Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel J. Cabell, Prisoner Charlestown.
Major Charles Pelham, Prisoner Charlestown.

Captains Robert Bell, Fort Pitt.
Callohill Minnis, Prisoner Charlestown.
Tarlton Payne, Prisoner Charlestown.
Simon Morgan, Southern army.
Simon Vance, Fort Pitt.
Uriah Springer, Fort Pitt.
Benjamin Biggs, Fort Pitt.
George Barry, Fort Pitt.
Holman Minnis, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Harrison, Fort Pitt.

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[49] In the State list, William J. Ludiman.

Lieutenants Lewis Thomas, Fort Pitt.
Andrew Lewis, Fort Pitt.
Lawrence Harrison, Fort Pitt.
John Barnes, Southern army.
Matthew Rhea, Southern army.
David Allen, Prisoner Charlestown.
Jacob Springer, Fort Pitt.
Henry Dawson, Fort Pitt.
John Beck, Fort Pitt.
Jacob Coleman, Fort Pitt.
Robert Rankin, Prisoner Charlestown.
Philip Clayton, Prisoner Charlestown.

Ensigns Spencer Morgan, where unknown.
John Mills, Fort Pitt.
Jacob Winlock, Fort Pitt.
Josiah Tannehill, Fort Pitt.
William Connor, Fort Pitt.
John Gibson, Fort Pitt.
John Trabue.
Henry Hughes.

EIGHTH REGIMENT.

Colonel James Wood, Com. Charlottesville.
Lieutenant-Colonel Jonathan Clarke, Prisoner on parole.
Major John Poulson.

Captains Andrew Wallace, Killed King's Mountain.
Thomas Boyer, Killed King's Mountain.
Robert Gamble, Chesterfield.
Thomas Buckner, Prisoner Charlestown.
Presley Nevill, Prisoner on parole.
Abraham Hite, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Clarke, Prisoner Charlestown.
William White, Prisoner Charlestown.
Joseph Swearingen, Prisoner Charlestown.

Lieutenants Captain Conway Oldham, Southern army, promoted, [*vice*] Wallace killed.
Sigismund Stribling, killed.
Hezekiah Morton, killed.
Robert White, furlough.
John McDowell, Southern army.
Albert Russell, Southern army.
William Porter, Prisoner Charlestown.
Richard Starke, Prisoner Charlestown.
Robert Jouet, Southern army.
John White, Prisoner Charlestown.
John Bowen, Prisoner on parole.
Henry Bowyer, Southern army.
William Baylis, absent.

Ensigns Thomas Wallace, Prisoner Charlestown.
Isaac Hite, aid to General Muh'g.[50]
George Hite, Southern army.
William Ball, resigned.
Daniel Ball, Southern army.
——— Thweatt.
——— Baylis.

[50] The abbreviation was probably intended for Muhlenburg.

ERRATA.

MEMOIR OF GENERAL JOHN CROPPER.

Page 276. The author is in error in stating that the first John Cropper who emigrated to Virginia, and married Gertrude Bowman, was a Scotchman. He was an *Englishman*, and representatives of the same family now live in Lancashire. One of this family married a sister of Lord Macaulay.

Page 313. The badge of the Cincinnati alluded to as in the possession of Mr. John Cropper, the grandson of General Cropper, did not descend to him from the latter, who, with a majority of the original members, had not one. In fact they were made in France and but few comparatively brought to America. This badge was purchased by Mr. John Cropper, when he became a member of the Cincinnati, as his grandfather's representative. Mr. Cropper now has General Cropper's diploma, also the Journal, quoted in this sketch, the sword, cannon, portrait, and other relics of his grandfather mentioned.

Page 314. "Bowman's Folly" became the property of Mr. John Cropper a year or two ago, but in 1870 had passed into the hands of the Browne, and, later, the Gibb family, descendants of General Cropper.

MEMOIR

OF

GENERAL JOHN CROPPER

OF

ACCOMACK COUNTY, VIRGINIA,

BY

BARTON HAXALL WISE.

MEMOIR OF

GENERAL JOHN CROPPER,

OF

ACCOMACK COUNTY, VIRGINIA.

I.

Across the Chesapeake, from the mainland of Virginia, a narrow peninsula runs southward from the Maryland boundary to Cape Charles. Though separated from the rest of the State by the width of the bay, the Eastern Shore of Virginia has always belonged to it, and the people that inhabit the counties of Accomack and Northampton have been from the first, distinctively Virginian in their customs and sentiments. This region was originally called "Accowmake," or "Accawmacke," after the Indian chief who ruled there; and in the year 1634, when Virginia was divided into eight shires, this territory formed one of them, to which the name Accomack was given. On account of its detached position, the old grants and orders of the king were addressed to his "faithful subjects in ye Colonie of Virginiae, and ye Kingdom of Accawmacke."

This name was changed to Northampton in 1642 through the influence of Colonel Obedience Robins. Later on, in 1662, the Eastern Shore was divided into two counties, the lower retaining the name Northampton, and the upper one being called

Accomack, from the old Indian name. Among the early immigrants to the latter county was Edmund Bowman, an English gentleman, who was granted an estate upon Folly creek, which received the name of "Bowman's Folly."

Bowman was a man of wealth and position; a justice of the peace in 1663, a sheriff, burgess, and had in addition, successively, the military titles of Captain and Major. He had two daughters, one of whom became the wife of Colonel Southey Littleton, and the other, Gertrude, married John Cropper, a young Scotchman, who had come to the colony. The family estate was left to Mrs. Cropper (who, after the death of her husband, married Daniel Esham); and from her it descended to her son, Sebastian Cropper. Sebastian Cropper married Rachel Parker, daughter of Peter Parker, and had a son, Bowman Cropper, who inherited the estate. Bowman Cropper married, and the property passed to his son, Sebastian Cropper, Jr. Sebastian, Jr., married Sabra Corbin, the daughter of Colonel Coventon Corbin and Barbara his wife, of Chincoteague farm, and their son was John Cropper, the subject of this sketch. He was born at "Bowman's Folly" on the 23d of December, 1755, and his early years were passed at the old family homestead. In the month of March, 1775, the Second Virginia Convention met in St. John's church, Richmond, and authorized the organizing of independent companies in each county, as the initial provision for the general defence, to consist of one or more companies of infantry and horse, to be in training and ready to act on a short notice; from which fact they were called "minute men." Throughout the remainder of that year the Virginia people proceeded to arm themselves in anticipation of the coming conflict, and the first company raised in Accomack chose John Cropper, then a boy of nineteen, as its captain. On the 5th of February, 1776, shortly after attaining his twentieth birthday, he received his commission, signed by the Committee of Safety for the Colony,[1] and his company was attached to the Ninth Virginia regiment on the Continental establishment, of which Thomas Fleming was the colonel, George Matthews the lieutenant-colonel, and John Seayers major. This regiment was made up of five companies from

[1] *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 271.

Accomack, two from Northampton, and three from the Western Shore of Virginia.[2] In the autumn of 1776 they marched from Accomack to the north to join the army at Morristown, New Jersey. The year 1776 proved an eventful one for the boy-captain, the subject of our sketch. In August of this year he was married to Margaret Pettitt, commonly called Peggy, at the house of Mr. George Abbot, where she resided, being an orphan at the time, Rev. William Vere, the Episcopal minister in the county, officiating. Shortly after this his father, Sebastian Cropper, Jr., who had been made a major by the Committee of Safety, died suddenly, and just before the departure of our hero for the army, his mother, Sabra Cropper, had died in his arms. In the month of December he took leave of his young wife, then in a delicate condition, and, at the head of his company, marched from home, in the Ninth Virginia, to join General Washington. On the march northward the colonel, Thomas Fleming, died, the lieutenant-colonel, George Mathews, succeeding to his position, and the major, Seayers, becoming lieutenant-colonel, the office of major became vacated.

There were three captains from Accomack, John Cropper, Levin Joynes and Thomas Snead, who though young men, were the seniors in point of service, and each of whom aspired to the majority, and were recommended to the commander in chief by their different friends. The adopted rule of promotion was that each subaltern must rise to the rank of captain in his own regiment, but above the grade of captain they were entitled to promotion according to seniority in any regiment of the *line* of the State to which they belonged. When the Ninth regiment finally reached headquarters there were three vacancies for major in the Virginia line in the Fifth, Seventh and Ninth regiments; and Captains Cropper, Joynes and Snead were each entitled to promotion. General Washington[3] decided that as their commissions as captains all bore date on the same day, they were to take rank as amongst themselves according to the time their respective companies were first mustered into service. According to

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[2] Sketch of Thomas R. Joynes by Dr. Levin S. Joynes, p. 3.

[3] Letter of Thomas R. Joynes to Governor H. A. Wise, *Southern Literary Messenger*, June, 1857.

this grade they were to fill the vacancies. By this rule, Cropper, who had raised the first company in his portion of the State, ranked first, Joynes next, and Snead third.

On January 4th, 1777, Cropper was commissioned[4] major of the Seventh Virginia, by Congress, and his commission signed by John Hancock, the president of that body.

Joynes became major of the Ninth, and Snead also was promoted. The vacant captain's commissions were filled by Henderson, Morris and Oldham. Shortly after his arrival in the north, Cropper wrote to his wife in a letter dated Philadelphia, January 12th, 1777:

"DEAR PEGGY:

This Day I am leaving Philadelphia with the Regiment to go to Camp. Last night we heard the king's seventh regiment was intirely taken. To Day we hear by a Major who comes from Camp that there has been a great Battle in the Jersys, and that Howe's army is half taken Prisoners and kill'd. Soldiers are flocking from every part, which I hope will put an End to the War this Winter, if our People behave as well as they have. Within three Weeks two thousand Hessians and Englishmen have been brought to this City. Inclosed I send you a Saturday's Paper. Give my love to all Relations and Compliments to Friends, and write by the first opportunity direct your Letters to be left at the———, in Philadelphia, and I shall get them. I expect to be home in about 3 Months. beg Mr. Abbot to write to me. Our Soldiers are all dressed in Regimentals at the Expense of the Continent, and have received all their Wages. God bless You and my Brothers.

I am your most Affectionate Husband where ever I goe,

JOHN CROPPER."

Cropper fought under Washington as a major at Brandywine and Germantown, and as lieutenant-colonel commanding the Eleventh Virginia (Daniel Morgan's regiment) at Monmouth, in June, 1778, and became devotedly attached to the commander-in-chief, whose friendship and confidence he enjoyed till the day of Washington's death.

At the battle of Brandywine, in September, 1777, the Seventh Virginia was almost cut to pieces. In this fight the command of the regiment had devolved upon Cropper; the action was long and bloody, and when the American army was ordered to retreat

[4] *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 275.

Cropper's regiment could not muster over two hundred men, and these were so worn out and exhausted as to be scarcely able to withdraw from the field, Cropper himself being wounded in the thigh by a bayonet thrust.

They took shelter in a piece of woods near by, which had been newly cut down, and shortly before daybreak Cropper marched them off the field.

The ensign had been killed in the fight and the colors captured. Cropper drew a ramrod from a musket, and tied his red bandana handkerchief to the end and hoisted it for a flag.[5] They marched to Chester, and on Chester bridge met Generals Washington and Woodford. Woodford recognizing Cropper, alighted from his horse, and pressing him to his bosom said "the boy we thought lost is found," and Washington publicly commended him for his gallantry. Cropper served in nearly all the leading engagements in the north, and was with the Virginia troops during the long and bleak winter at Valley Forge. In April, 1778, he was ordered by La Fayette to command the Eleventh Virginia regiment, Woodford's Brigade, Lafayette's Division; the original autograph of this order is now in the possession of John S. Wise, a descendant of Colonel Cropper. This was Daniel Morgan's regiment of riflemen, Morgan himself being absent at the time. The roll of officers at White Plains in September, 1778, gives Morgan as Colonel; Cropper, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Thomas Posey, Major.

Among the captains was John Marshall, afterwards the Chief Justice of the United States.

This regiment was composed in part of the Culpeper Minute Men, troops from other portions of Virginia, and subsequently from other States.

The Culpeper Minute Men had been early organized after the breaking out of the war in 1775. As they marched from their home to Williamsburg they are said to have terrified the country people as they passed along, by their warlike appearance. They were clad in green hunting shirts with the words "Liberty or Death" in large white letters across the breast, and in their hats wore buck-tails, while tomahawks and scalping-knives were

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[5] *Custis's Recollections of Washington*, p. 170.

stuck in their belts. Their flag was not less unusual in appearance than their uniforms, it being designed with a rattlesnake in the centre, the head of which was to represent Virginia, and twelve rattles the other Colonies, and over this was inscribed: "Don't tread on me." Among their officers who marched with the corps as they left home were General Edward Stevens and Lieutenant John Marshall, afterwards the Chief Justice. John Randolph, "of Roanoke," said of them in the United States Senate: "They were raised in a minute, armed in a minute, fought in a minute, and vanquished in a minute."

Daniel Morgan, the colonel of the Eleventh Virginia regiment of riflemen, was over six feet in height, a man of unusually handsome and commanding presence, and of remarkable strength and endurance. A native of New Jersey, he had in his eighteenth year removed to Charlestown, Jefferson county, Virginia, and his military career was begun as a teamster under Braddock. One of the stories we have of his early career was a punishment inflicted upon him of five hundred lashes for knocking down a British lieutenant, who had struck him with the flat of his sword. He was made an ensign by Governor Dinwiddie, and figured in perilous encounters with the Indians. Later, in 1762, he received a grant of land near Winchester, where he made his home, calling it "Soldier's Rest," and thenceforth devoting his time to farming and stock-raising. In 1775, when Congress called for ten companies of riflemen, Morgan was chosen captain of a Virginia company, and in the summer of that year took part in Arnold's march through the wilderness of Maine against Quebec.

On the night of December 31st, 1775, the troops made a desperate assault upon the fortress, in which Montgomery met his death, and Arnold was severely wounded in the leg.

Arnold was one of the bravest of the brave. Some time after his desertion from the American army an armistice was signed, and in company with several British officers he was met by some American officers, who had advanced between the two camps. Arnold perceiving that his former friends were displeased at his presence, remarked that he was surprised at this, for though he was then fighting against them he had lost a leg in the American service. Upon this, one of the Americans replied: "We remem-

ber it quite well, and if ever you fall into our hands your wooden leg shall be deposited in the Capital to remind our descendants of the heroic courage you displayed when fighting for the independence of your country, after which we shall hang the remainder of you on a gallows as a warning to traitors." (*Memoirs of the Baron de Marbot*, Vol. II, p. 436).

Morgan, who had stormed the battery opposite him, fought his way into the city, where he was surrounded and taken prisoner. The following summer Carleton released him on parole, and he returned to Virginia. Congress, at Washington's request, made him a colonel, and early in 1777, having been exchanged in due form, he recruited a regiment of riflemen and joined Washington at Morristown. In the campaign against Howe his services in reconnoitering were of great value, and later, under Gates at Stillwater and Bemis Heights his picked riflemen bore a conspicuous part. After the surrender at Saratoga, Burgoyne, who was introduced to Morgan, said to him: "Sir, you command the finest regiment in the world." In November of this year, Morgan rejoined Washington at Whitemarsh, near Philadelphia. To give his career is almost to write the history of the war, for he figured gallantly in nearly every great fight in the Northern and Southern campaigns, and when, after the Revolution, blanks were sent out to the surviving officers with the request that they fill them up in order to ascertain the time and places of their service, Morgan wrote on his blank simply: "Fought everywhere; surrendered nowhere."

Thomas Posey, the major of the Eleventh, was a gallant Virginian, and the fit associate of Morgan and Cropper in the command of the regiment. He had served in Andrew Lewis' division of Dunmore's army, and taken part in the fight at Point Pleasant. He had entered the Revolution as captain in the Seventh Virginia Continental line, and joined the army at Middlebrook early in 1777. He served in various commands, and after the war became distinguished as an itinerant politician, being at one time a member of the State Senate in Kentucky, at another a resident of Louisiana, and United States Senator from that State; and again, at a later period, a governor of the Territory of Indiana, finally ending his career as an Indian agent in Illinois. The list of captains contained the names of Gabriel

Long, Peter B. Bruin, Charles Porterfield, William Johnston, John Marshall and Jesse Davis.

The captain-lieutenant was Philip Slaughter, who also rendered efficient service as paymaster and clothier, though from all accounts his duties in the latter position were not onerous.

Some amusing stories are told of Slaughter, and among others, it is related[6] that from his spirit of generosity he had, like a number of other officers, given all of his spare clothes to the privates, who were half-clad and miserable, so that while in Valley Forge camp he was reduced to one shirt only. While this one was in wash he would go wrapped in his blanket like an Indian brave; but determining to make the best use of this single garment he cut out a piece of the bosom, with which he made a collar and cuffs, so that when on parade he was able to present a dapper appearance. During this dreary winter the army dragged out a miserable existence, being wretchedly clad and fed. The Virginia troops were camped on a hill, almost opposite Washington's headquarters, back from the river. General Washington would invite the officers, by turns, to dine with him, from which many of them were deterred from not being presentably clad. Slaughter never failed to be present when opportunity offered, his collars and cuffs being *en regle*, and declared that his regiment might have the satisfaction of feeling they were represented. The drooping spirits of the weary soldiers must have been greatly revived when the spring came again, and when, in May, the news of the alliance with France was promulgated in camp.

The troops were drawn up in line, and the men placed in specified positions, to fire a salute with muskets and cannon. They fired from right to left, huzzaing "Long live the King of France." Then from left to right, and "Three cheers for the Dauphin." Then another three cheers for the "Independence of the American Colonies," and then it was ordered that full rations of rum be furnished the men, and they drink the health of the King of France, to which they added, "and to our commanding General."

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[6] *Howe's Historical Collections of Virginia*, p. 238.

During this period Cropper's name often appears as officer of the day, and upon one occasion we find him the president of a court-martial held to try a Virginia officer for gaming. Washington at times issued orders forbidding gambling in camp, and yet one of these he closed singularly with a mention of the fact that a few tickets in the Continental Lottery were still for sale, and could be obtained upon application at headquarters.

At the battle of Monmouth, Morgan was not present, and Cropper, as lieutenant-colonel, was at the head of the Eleventh, and his men fought throughout that hot and sultry June day, when the American troops suffered so for water that many died from thirst, and when Washington, losing his temper, swore, according to a gallant officer, "like an angel" at General Charles Lee.

On the morning after the retreat of the British, the Virginia riflemen followed on the trail of the enemy, making a number of captures, and among other things the coach of a general officer.[1]

In the fall of 1778, having been absent from home several years, and being anxious to see his wife, as well as look after his private interests, Cropper applied for and received a furlough of one hundred and ninety days for that purpose.

On his return to Accomack, he saw for the first time his infant daughter, Sarah Corbin, who had been born several months after his departure for the north, and who was more than eighteen months old when he first beheld her. He was not, however, destined, as subsequent events showed, to gain a rest from his duties as a soldier, by his return to "Bowman's Folly." The counties of Accomack and Northampton were peculiarly exposed throughout the Revolution to the ravages of the enemy, with whom there were a large number of tories in sympathy. The Eastern Shore is intersected on the Chesapeake and the Atlantic side by navigable creeks, which are in reality mere arms of the sea. By way of these the British could sail up, to the very door of the farmer in many instances, and the militia in consequence were called upon frequently to protect the people from the enemy, who ruthlessly burnt their houses, after robbing them of their contents, taking away the live stock, and in addition carrying off the negro slaves of the planters, and

[1] *Recollections of G. W. P. Custis*, p. 226.

endeavoring to incite them to insurrection. Cropper's diary for the year 1779 is in the possession of the writer, and the entries contained in it exhibit the exposed condition of the Accomack people and the numerous conflicts they had with the enemy. However, despite the trying ordeals to which they were subjected, he and his wife appear to have dined out frequently, and enjoyed social intercourse with their neighbors. The following items are copied as they appear in the original:

January 1st, 1779—"Pretty day. Wm. Pettit and myself divided our negroes." (This Pettit was his wife's brother.)

2d—"Peggy and I went from Mr. Wilkin's to Accomac Court-house. I bought old Jacob, and hired three of my brother Tom's negro's."

6th—"Tory Tom Parker had his trial, and was sentenced to go over to Gen'l Court for further trial."

15th—"*Nihil.*"

Sunday, 17th—"Deep snow on the earth. I went down the Creek to see in what situation Major Simpson's boat lay in the marsh.

A British Cruiser that came within the inlet last ev'ning for a harbor, sent her boat up to Folly landing this ev'ning to cut out and destroy what vessels they cou'd,—but she failed in her attempt."

21st—"I wrote a cover to Mr. Lyon, enclosing a letter each to Col. Morgan, Capt. Slaughter, and Lieut. Barnes at Camp; dated November (I think)."

23d—"Went to Court-house—Col. Simpson, *ibi*, and promised me some muskets for my defence."

On February the 12th, 1779, we find the following: "R— A. M. F P. M. A motley crew of pirates, in the service of Britain, belonging to the Thistle Tender, a Bermudian built sloop commanded by an infamous tar, Capt. Thomas Byron Williams, (the surgeons name Gramble) came up and beset my house, and then plundered, pillaged and broke to pieces my property, as well as insult and savagely threaten my wife."

Upon this occasion Cropper had quite a perilous adventure

with the enemy. The account given by him here is but a brief mention of what in reality took place. It seems that the British belonging to the Thistle Tender had entered into an agreement with a tory named Dunton to pilot them to "Bowman's Folly." In the dead of night they rowed up Folly creek with muffled oars to within a short distance of the house, and before Cropper was aware of what was taking place they had completely surrounded his house, and rushing in the hallway knocked upon his chamber door. Before he could scarcely put on his underclothes they broke in and seized him, and pulled the cover off the bed, where his wife and infant daughter were lying. They immediately proceeded to destroy the furniture and pocket the family jewels and whatever valuables they could put their hands on, and getting into the wine cellar they began to drink freely of the wines and liquor contained in it, so that in a short while a number of them were uproarious. Cropper himself meanwhile was in a room, the doorway of which was guarded by two men with muskets in their hands. Stealthily raising the latch, he leaped over the heads of the men, who were partially stupefied with drink, and before they were aware of what he was attempting, he had gotten away in the darkness. He ran two miles in his underclothes to the house of a neighbor, who was a soldier of the war, whom he persuaded to arm and come with him. They loaded three old Tower muskets and made their way as rapidly as they could to Cropper's house. When in sight of the dwelling Cropper's friend became alarmed at the noise and sight of so many lights, and dropping his gun took to his heels. Cropper picked up this gun, and with the two stole up to the house, and firing them off in quick succession, cried out at the top of his voice, "Come on, boys, we have got them now." This ruse proved successful, for it surprised the British so they fled as rapidly as they could to their boats near by, and rowed out of the creek.

Cropper got back just in time, for at the moment he had appeared in sight of the house his wife with her infant daughter, Sarah Corbin, had been removed to an out-house, and a train of powder was being laid to blow up the main dwelling. Thus he was able to save the house, but the enemy had broken up his furniture and crockery, besides defacing the house in various

ways, and had bound and carried to their boats about thirty of his slaves. As a matter of course the affair of this night greatly upset his wife, and intensified his hatred of the British.

February 13th, he writes: "A number of the militia came to my house."

A few days later his diary mentions that Peggy and himself had removed to "Latin House." This was a place owned by Colonel Cropper, much nearer the court-house, and to which he probably went for greater safety, fearing at "Bowman's Folly" another such attack as that on the night of the 12th.

Tuesday, February 23d—"Went to Court. Caned Wm Dunton and John Kellam."

Wednesday, 24th—"Plan'd an expedition to Cedar Island to intercept Capt. Thos. Byron Williams sloop Tender, and a small schooner of which R. Morris was Lieutenant."

The next entry is Friday, the 26th, when he says: "About 8 o'clock I landed a brass four pound gun on the N. end of the island, and proceeded with all possible expedition to the S. end; when I came there, after reconnoitering the point, and finding it to deceive my expectations in ev'ry respect, a gust of rain coming up, my small company of militia, (at first but 35) continually deserting; want of provision, water, and excessive fatigue, having worn out the rest, I determined to withdraw the gun as far as possible, which was about one mile, left her there under the care of Major Simpson, and went off to the main almost dead wt. fatigue."

Saturday, February 27th—"I am almost dead with fatigue. At ten o'clock P. M., Col Parker came to the Latin House, and informed that Col. Corbin had landed a four pound iron gun on Parramore's Beach, and was endeavoring to prevent the going out of the tenders.

"I collected my neighbors and went on to Cedar Island with a four pound iron gun."

Sunday, 28th—"3 o'clock the tenders made sail and engaged the fort on the beach, and passed out after an obstinate struggle, one of them having her hull and rigging torn to pieces."

He had been successful in being revenged on his enemies, for the privateer after passing out of the inlet, though her pumps were constantly going, was yet in a sinking condition, and the Accomackians as they stood on the shore, saw her sink with all hands on board.

Saturday, March 13th—"I set off to go to muster, but played billiards all day with Messrs. Isaac and Thorowday Smith."

Saturday, 20th—"Went to Edmund Custis's at Onancock to go over the bay."

Sunday, 21st—"Edmund Custis and I crossed the bay, and lodged at Isaac Lanes' on Piankatank."

Monday, 22d—"Rainy, dirty forenoon. We sailed from Piankatank, and lay in the bay all night."

Tuesday, 23d—"Landed at York, dined at Mrs. Gibbons, and supped in company with Mr. Henry."

Wednesday, 24th—"Mr. Custis and I went to Wmsburg. Very cold day. Lodged @ y^{e} Raleigh."

Friday, 26th—"I got a warrant from the Treasury for money due me from the State."

Saturday, 27th—"Mr. Custis and I rode from Wmsburg to York in a chariot of his upon our way home. Embarked about 8 o'clock P. M. on board Wm. Walkers boat, in company with himself, & Mr. Ker, for the E. S."

Sunday, 28th—"Clear and pretty breeze. We landed at Pungoteague, and dined at Mr. Tho'd. Smith in camp with several ladies, and gentlemen. I went home to 'Latin House.'"

On March 20th, while in Accomack, Colonel Cropper's commission as lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh Virginia regiment, Continental line, to take rank from October 27, 1779, was signed by John Jay, president of Congress.

Saturday, 24th April,—he writes, "Peggy and I returned to Bowman's Folly to live, the gally diligence Captain Watson having arrived in Metompkin for the place's protection."

On the same date, 24th of April, 1779, Gen. Woodford wrote[8] to Col. Cropper from Middle Brook :

"DEAR COLONEL:

Yours of the 1st of March was only delivered me a few days ago. I am truly sorry for your Loss and could wish you had muster'd a few of your neighbors in time to attack those plunderers—if a single muster could effect so much, what might not been expected from a dozen hearty fellows—I immediately waited upon his Excellency, who was touched with your misfortune, and desired that I would write you that had permission to be absent till the first of June, but hopes you will then returned prepared to resume your office in the army ; let me add my wishes that this may be the case. You know our Line is considerably thin'd of some of its best Field officers—and I mean not to flatter when I say your loss will be materially felt—even should your affairs require a months longer absence. I have no doubt upon your writing, our good Genl. would still prolong you indulgence.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * *

With my compliments to Mrs. Cropper, believe me to be with much esteem,

Dr. Sir, Your most obedient humble Servant,

WM. WOODFORD."

Lieut. Col. John Cropper, Accomack County, & etc.

DIARY CONTINUED—*May 3rd*—"Yesterday a schooner with 90 Hds. of rum, Capt. Mosely arrived here from St. Ustatia—To-day another schooner boat with 40 hds. of rum, Capt. Dillingham, arrived from the same place. Sunday, May 9th, he was at Bellhaven in the lower part of the County, & Wrote 'Very heavy cannonade this morning towards York.'"

Saturday, 15th—"Capt. Kendall and brother and Col. Corbin met me at Court-house about the deserters of 9th Virg. Regt., and went home with me."

Tuesday, 25th—"Court. Alarm of a Tender coming into Onancock."

Monday, 31st—"Rainy day. I went to Smith Melson's, and purchased of him 1,000 lbs. of tobacco at 12£."

Thursday, June 3rd—"Peggy and I dined on board the diligence galley."

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[8] *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 317.

Most of the entries throughout this month are concerning visits to his neighbors, or of them to him, a very constant social intercourse appearing to have been kept up.

Monday, 14th—"Sent Jno. Abot again to Mr. Ker's to borrow money. I dined on board the diligence galley. Maj'r Custis had a cock fight at Folly landing."

Wednesday, 30th—"Borrowed pr. my overseer 1,000 pounds of Mr. Edw'd Ker, in loan office certificates."

Sunday, 4th July—"Anniversary of Independency. An eligant ball at the courthouse to-morrow evening."

Monday, 5th—"An eligant ball and entertainment at courthouse."

Soon after this date Colonel Cropper's furlough was to expire, and we find him making his way on horseback to army headquarters in the north, and sending in his resignation to John Jay, president of Congress, at Philadelphia.

Friday, 16th—He writes: "Peggy and I set off for camp. Went to Mr. Abbot's."

There is no mention of his wife after this, and it is probable she only drove with him as far as Mr. Abbot's, at whose house she probably remained after taking leave of him, she having resided there before her marriage. The diary continues:

Saturday, 17th—"I went to Horn Town. Stayed a. n. wt. Uncle Corbin. Wm. and Polly Broadwater stayed *ibi.*"

Sunday, 18th—"I lodged at Branten's, 22 miles above Snowhill."

Monday, 19th—"Lodged at Evan's, 8 miles beyond Clower's."

Tuesday, 20th—"Breakfasted at Mrs. Peterkin's, dined at Dover, and lodged at Cross-roads."

Wednesday, 21st—"Breakfasted at Cantwell's Bridge, dined at Red Lyon, and lodged at Wilmington wt. Mr. Edmund Randolph, delegate from Virginia to Congress, together with several officers of horse."

Thursday, 22d—"Mr. Randolph and myself breakfasted at Chester, and dined in Philada. I took my lodging at Mrs. Swords, in Lodge alley."

Friday, 23d—"The gentlemen of my lodgings are Doct'r Shields, a gentleman just from Ireland with a large quantity o

goods; Mr. Curson, a St. Eustatia merchant, and a Monsieur De Luce, a French gentleman."

Wednesday, 28th—"I set off for camp—lodged at Vandegrift's, Shammeny Ferry."

Thursday, 29th—"Breakfasted at Trenton, dined at Trenton, and lodged at Skilmans, beyond Rocky Hill."

Friday, 30th—"Passed the village of Sommerset. Dined at ———, at Col. McDaniels, with Doctr's Smith, Jenipher and Tennant."

Saturday, 31st—"Got into Morris Town about 11 o'clock; stay'd a. d. to rest my horse; dined with Mrs. Kemper, and lodg'd at Mrs. Norris's."

Sunday, August 1st, 1779—"I set off from Morris Town for camp."

Monday, 2d—"Arrived at the Virginia camp, a place called Suffering's. The troops are healthy and in high spirits, and are commanded by Lord Stirling. Drank tea wt. Gen. Woodford."

Tuesday, 3d—"Nothing. Only I dined wt. Major Porterfield upon fish at Gen. Woodford's qrs."

Wednesday, 4th—"Dined with Lord Stirling. Doc't McHenry, his Excellency's Secy, there."

Thursday, 5—"Good day. I dined with General Woodford."

Friday, 6th—"Capt. Shepherd and myself set off for H'd Quarters. Had a most fatiguing journey over the mountains and rocks to New Windsor, and a tedious rainy passage down the river to the Light Infantry. We passed H'd Quarters and West Point, and arrived at the Light Infantry about one o'clock. We lodged with Ensign Linot in a thin tent that let through the rain and made it very uncomfortable."

Saturday, 7th—"Capt. Shepherd and myself dined at H'd Quarters and lodged at N. Windsor, in company wt. Capt. Ebenezer Finly."

Sunday, 8th—"I set off for camp, and fell in wt. Major Forsyth and a Virginia gentleman two miles below N. Windsor, on their way to join Major Lee at Paramus."

Monday, 9th—"Stay'd all day wt. Lord Stirling's division. Din'd with Gen'l Woodford."

Tuesday, 10th—"I set off for Philadelphia—lodged at Mr.

VanCortlands at ——penny, four miles from Morristown. Was very agreeably entertained in company with Governor Livingston's son."

Wednesday, 11th—"Went to Morristown. Stayed all day (being kept by the rain), and dined at Mr. Kemper's."

Thursday, 12th—"Resumed my journey, dined at Emmens, a dutch house, and lodged at Larbeteaux."

Friday, 13th—"Got into Philadelphia about dark—a most fatiguing journey. Supped at my lodgings, Mrs. Sword's."

Sunday, 15th—"Captain Nicholson and myself went to sermon at Christ Church to hear the Rev. Parson White."

There is no further entry in his diary until the Saturday following, but the letter here presented addressed by him on the 16th to John Jay, Esq., president of Congress, will explain his purpose in tarrying in Philadelphia:

PHILADELPHIA, *August 16th, 1779.*

"SIR:

Necessity obliges me to interrupt the precious time of your Excellency and Congress on the following subject. Early in the present controversy, I had the honor to be appointed a Captain in the Virginia line of the Continental Army, and have served until I have attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; but my affairs at home together with the present establishment of the army absolutely demand that I should quit that service, in which I have spent the most happy and honorable part of my life; therefore, I humbly and earnestly request permission to resign my commission and assign the following reasons:

First. That I have a young and increasing family, whose situation and circumstances require my presence at home, to improve the remaining part of my patrimony for their maintenance.

Second. That my pay is not one-tenth part adequate to the necessary expenses, in supporting the dignity of my commission.

Third. The high taxes in Virginia which fall very heavy on me, being obliged to pay for the present year, four hundred pounds or upwards, for over cultivated lands, that do not yield me one single sixpence profit per annum; nor does profit arise from any part of my property in my absence.

Fourth. That a New York Privateer in Feb. last, at night landed her crew at my plantation on the Eastern Shore of Virginia, destroyed and carried off great part of my property.

Fifth. That my Regiment (the seventh Virginia) is nighly reduced to a Captain's command, by expiration of enlistments, deaths, etc., and

that for the good of the service, it will probably soon be incorporated with some other regiments, when great part of its officers become supernumerary of course.

I hope your Excellency and Congress will pardon this intrusion; and believe me to be with all possible admiration, respect, and esteem,

Your Excellency's
Mo. Obedient
Humb. Servant,
JNO. CROPPER, Jnr:"

"The New York Privateer," referred to above, is evidently the Thistle Tender, whose crew attacked him the night of February 12th, and which he then described as a "Bermudian built sloop," and "in the service of Britain."

Having finished his business in Philadelphia, he prepared to set off Southwards, for on Saturday, 21st, his diary tells us: "I set off for Virginia; lodged at Chester." The return trip was over practically the same route as the outward one—viz., by way of Red Lyon, Cantwell's Bridge, Dover, Mamma Peterkins, Snowhill, and Horntown.

Tuesday, 24th—He complains of his "horse being terribly galled with the breast-plate of the harness," and says he left his at Brawten's, above Snowhill, Colonel John Dennis being good enough to lend him one of his own.

Thursday, 26th—"Breakfasted at Horn Town, arrived at Geo. Abbots about 4 o'clock."

This was the house he had first stopped at on his outward journey on July 16th, and where he was probably greeted by his wife on his return, though he does not mention the latter circumstance.

Friday, 27th—He states: "Peggy and I went to Bowman's Folly—lodged at Latin House."

There is appended an outline of his ride, with a calculation of the "Road and stages from New Windsor on the West bank of the Hudson river to Accomack Courthouse, on the E. S. of Virginia." This distance he calculates, by the route he took, as being 334 miles.

Saturday, 28th August—"Nothing, only that I moved my furniture from Latin House to Bowman's Folly."

Friday, September 10th—"Tom Bayley's and Oldham's boats came from Phila. Bayley brought my 8 Winsor chairs and Mahogony salver."

Saturday, 11th—"Muster day at Courthouse."

Thursday, 16th—"I amused myself during the excessive high tides, (occasioned by the N. Easter) shooting curlews, willets, and other birds."

Throughout the remainder of September and during October there are regular entries, most of them recording his neighbors' visits, or his visits to the Courthouse.

November 2d—"The schooner Capt. Bowman got around at the mouth of Folly Creek."

Wednesday, 3d—"Vendue at Levin Rodger's estate. I bought 14 pictures very dear."

Thursday, 4th—"There is a cruiser off the inlet, which this day attempted to cut out Capt. Bowman's Schooner but failed."

Tuesday, 9th—"The Schooner Capt. Bowman sailed for France."

Saturday, 13th—"A race at Molly Beech's field. Lady Legs got beat by Taylor's horse. I lost 100 dollars."

Friday, 19th—"Race at Onancock between Capt. Parramores and Edmund Custis's horses."

Friday, 26th—"Major Simpson came down to his boat lying in Folly Creek, and brought me 147 lbs of iron at 2 dollars pr. lb."

Monday, 29th—"Before day my Joshua run away."

Wednesday, 1st December, 1779—"I bought Bob attached by the Sheriff to pay Mr. Mifflin's assessment, a £1,710."

Saturday, 11th—"I set off very early from home and got to Duke's by one o'clock. Rented Benston's house for £180. Hired George for 193, Joshua 114, Comfort 106, and Charity 50, Virginia money."

Friday 25th—"Christmas. Mr. Abbott and myself went to Assawaman Church. Snowy day."

The diary concludes with the year 1779, and if he kept one later it has not been preserved.

It appears probable from letters of Colonel Cropper that his resignation, submitted in August, 1779, was never accepted, but that he was allowed to remain at home, in Accomack, till the end of the war, on indefinite leave of absence, in view of his past service in the northern campaigns, and his not being drafted for the Southern army, under General Green. In August, 1781, he wrote to Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr., acknowledging the receipt of his appointment as county lieutenant of Accomack—a position that he filled with great energy and ability to the end of the war. He was in constant correspondence with Governor Nelson and Colonel William Davies, a son of the Rev. Samuel Davies, and the Virginia Commissioner of War, who is reputed to have been a man of rare ability, and to have furnished invaluable service to the State in the supplying of provisions to and equipment of the troops, and in directing the finances. During this period particularly the Eastern Shore people were exceedingly harassed by the enemy. Colonel Levin Joynes wrote to Davies, September 10, 1781: "We have had most alarming times this summer, all along shore, from a set of Barges manned mostly by our own negroes who have run off. These fellows were really dangerous to an individual singled out for their vengeance whose property lay exposed." The people of Accomack for their greater protection organized a volunteer troop of horse, under the command of Captain Thomas Parramore, which Cropper described as "composed of single gentlemen, and they are gentlemen of the first fortunes and characters among us; ever since their appointment they have been on constant duty, under which they have shewn a most cheerful obedience to the strictest discipline, and do, in my opinion, render very essential service."

They were mounted and equipped at their own expense, the people receiving but scant aid from the State, and the threatened withdrawal of the few Continental troops from the Shore made it necessary for the inhabitants to resort to every possible means for their preservation.

Among the characters with whom Cropper had to deal was the Rev. John Lyon, whom Bishop Meade[9] says was a Rhode Island man, and the Rector of St. George's Parish in Accomack as early as 1774.

[9] *Old Churches and Families of Virginia*, Vol. I, p. 266.

Lyon was brought before a court martial at which Cropper presided, and Colonel George Corbin (an uncle of Cropper's) filled the position of Judge Advocate. He was charged with having furnished the enemy with provisions, giving them aid and comfort and dissuading the militia from doing duty in defending the State. Colonel Corbin wrote to the State department communicating the intelligence of Lyon's case, transmitting the depositions, and asking for leniency towards him, which was doubtless largely on account of Lyon's wife, who was of a prominent Accomack family, in sympathy with the American cause. Colonel Cropper, however, did not seem to entertain similar sentiments towards him, for on August 25th, in a letter to Colonel Davis,[10] he writes: "I have before me your affectionate letter to my uncle Corbin, and thank you for your favorable sentiments of me. It was with the greatest reluctance I quit the army, but the peculiar circumstances of my family compelled me to it. * * * You'll see my sentiments in respect to Mr. Lyon's case, and notwithstanding my uncle's request in his letter, was he to lay aside his excessive humanity and tenderness of heart (of which perhaps he has the largest share of any person living) he would think that a halter was hardly too severe for the parson. On the same date he wrote to Governor Nelson [11] and continued as follows, "As to the case of the Rev. John Lyon, I beg leave to make the following observations: There was not so much in testimony against him as was expected, but from character he is certainly a very bad man. He has undoubtedly long and constantly traded with the enemy—a vessel of his in that trade was taken and made prize of by a Philadelphia barge, and I would risque whatever property depends on me, that it might yet be proven that not long since, he himself delivered a cargo of oats and provision to the British Commissary at Portsmouth. The disaffected of his neighborhood (the best acquainted with his political character) absolutely will not give testimony against him, and the inoffensive Whig, in the character of a peasant, is actually afraid of the parson's influence to destroy him. He has married into a good family, thro' which the few persons of good character have signed

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[10] *State Papers*, Vol. II, p. 358.

[11] *State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 359-60.

the petition drawn in his favor. Everybody is sorry for the family, but I believe his greatest advocate cannot but acknowledge him a man of very bad private, as well as publick character. I beg leave to offer it your Excellency as my sincere and unprejudiced opinion, that the people will not, with their consent, permit Mr. Lyon to remain in their Parish, and at the same time that they wish no further punishment, than for him never to be seen in the County, after a reasonable time to settle his affairs." On the 30th, of September, he sent Lyon with some other prisoners, those who had opposed the draft, to the Governor, and wrote Davies.[12] * * * "By the vessel in which these prisoners come I have sent to the Commissary-General a thousand gallons of Rum, and one tierce of Port wine for the use of the army, and in a short time they may expect much more." At this date, Colonel Cropper appears to have relented towards the parson, probably at the solicitation of Lyon's family, for he encloses a petition signed by George Corbin, Edmund Custis, Levin Joynes and George Parker, all of whom were men of prominence in the county, and adds himself, "since his confinement, he has often expressed to me his desire of becoming a good citizen, and should be indulged with any degree of liberty of wishing to spend the remains of his life with people of known attachment to the Independency of America."

Among the attacks of the enemy from the barges was one near Henry's Point, where they landed from their boats, and were met by the militia, under Cropper. During the fight the militia retreated, leaving Cropper and a negro named George Latchom, who were in advance of the rest, engaged actively with the invaders. These two kept up the firing, until the foe were within a few rods of them, when they were compelled to fall back. Cropper had to retreat through a sunken, boggy marsh, in which he stuck fast up to the waist in soft mud, the enemy at the time being so close as to prepare to bayonet him.

At this critical juncture the faithful colored man fired and killed the foremost man, and seized hold of Cropper and dragged him by main strength out of the mud, and taking him on his back carried him safely to dry land. This required great strength

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[12] *State Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 509–10.

upon his part, Cropper weighing in the neighborhood of two hundred pounds. Latchom was at the time a slave, and was purchased and set free by Colonel Cropper, who befriended him in every way he could, as an evidence of his gratitude, till Latchom's death. In September of this year (1781) Governor Thomas Nelson, Jr., wrote to Cropper telling him of the great need in the army of spirits, and calling on him to procure all he could on his side of the bay. Nelson wrote that the exhausted state of the treasury would not permit of the purchase of the article, and the only mode left was the disagreeable one of impressing, and for this purpose he enclosed him a warrant.

It is to be doubted whether Cropper often resorted to this means of obtaining supplies, as the farmers naturally were very indignant at it, they having to give up corn, oats, meat and horses as well as liquors. The troops across the bay were furnished, among other things, with a quantity of peach brandy, which was formerly one of the leading products of the Eastern Shore, and which was widely celebrated for its flavor and excellency.

The isolated situation of the people of Accomack and Northampton, caused them to be ignorant often of the laws passed by the Assembly for some time after their passage, and in addition they received less protection from the State probably than the people of any other section of it. Notwithstanding this they were frequently called on for supplies from the Western Shore, while all the time striving to maintain and defend themselves at home from the invasions of the enemy. Throughout all the hardships to which they were subjected, the majority of them remained devotedly loyal to the American cause, and Cropper himself spent the bulk of his fortune in supplying the troops, coming out of the war a comparatively poor man. During the year 1782, the condition of the county was even worse than the year preceding. Early in May, Colonels Cropper and Corbin were writing to Colonel Davies, the head of the State War Department, protesting against the removal of the few Continental soldiers then in Accomack, and declaring the Shore would be ruined. Cropper states that four of the enemy's barges were then on the coast, capturing vessels and plundering the inhabitants. The presence of a small force, he said, would enable the

militia to attend to their farms a portion of the time, instead of being constantly called out. Colonel Corbin writes of a conspiracy of the tories, British and negroes, who had prepared themselves "with ropes as instruments of death and had marked their devoted victims." This plan was discovered by the master of one of the slaves engaged in the plot, and the ring leaders strung up. In November of this year, occurred one of the bloodiest fights of its kind that took place in that neighborhood during the war. Commodore Kidd had established a rendezvous at Hog Island, off the coast, to which place he was in the habit of taking his plunder. At that time each State had its separate fleet for purposes of defence, Commodore Barron commanding the Virginia, and Commodore Whaley the Maryland flotilla. On the 28th of November, Colonel Cropper received from Commodore Whaley a letter telling him that he proposed attacking Kidd's barges, then off Onancock in the bay, and asking the assistance of some volunteers from Accomack to aid him man his fleet.

The request was immediately complied with, and Colonel Cropper, with twenty-five of the Accomack militia went aboard his boats. Cropper thus describes the action in a letter to Davies, dated December, 6th :[13]

"On the 30th, at the head of Cagey's Straits we fell in with and engaged the enemy. When we approached them within about three hundred yards, and the fire began to be serious, our barges all run away except the Commodore's (the *Protector*), in which was Major Smith Snead, Captain Thomas Parker, Captain William Snead, myself and five other volunteers.

"This dastardly conduct of our comrades brought on our barge the whole fire of the enemy which was very severe, and it was as severely answered by the *Protector*, until the enemy's six barges were within fifty yards, when most unfortunately, the cartridges of our short eighteen pounders caught fire amidships; the explosion of which burned three or four people to death, caused five or six more, all afire, to leap overboard, and the alarm of the barge blowing up made several others swim for their lives. The

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[13] *State Papers*, Vol. III, p. 391.

enemy almost determined to retreat from our fire as they told us afterwards, took new spirit at this disaster and pushed up with redoubled fury. On the other hand our people opposed them with the most daring resolution; there was one continual shower of musket balls, boarding pikes, cutlasses, cold shot and iron stantials for eight or ten minutes, till greatly overpowered by numbers, and having all the officers killed and wounded, we struck to them, after having wounded their Commodore, killed one Captain, wounded another, killed and wounded several of their inferior officers and killed and wounded fifteen of the Kidnappers Crew, the barge which first boarded us.

"Commodore Wally was shot down a little before the enemy boarded, acting the part of a *cool, intrepid, gallant* officer. Captain Joseph Handy was badly wounded.

"There went to action in the *Protector* sixty-five men, twenty-five of them were killed and drowned, twenty-nine were wounded, some of which are since dead, and eleven only escaped, being wounded, most of which had leaped in the water to save themselves from the explosion.

"After the surrender, I entered into an agreement with Commodore Kidd to take ashore such of his wounded as chose to go, and to have them nursed and attended to at the public expense, upon condition that he would parole all our prisoners as well the unhurt as the wounded, which agreement will meet the approbation of his Excellency in Council and the Assembly.

"Being very much disordered with my wounds, I am scarcely able to write, therefore, I beg leave to subscribe myself."

Then follows a list of the wounded to which he adds, "Myself was wounded by a cutlass on the head, slightly by a pike on the face and thigh, slightly by a cutlass on the shoulder, and after the surrender was knocked down by a four pound rammer, the blow of which was unfortunately near upon the same place where the cutlass hit.

"You will do me a most singular favor to excuse the sally I I took in the barge, and have me exchanged as soon as possible.

"Yours affectionately,

"J. CROPPER, JR."

The reader after this will not wonder that he was very much disordered by his wounds as he expressed it, or that Colonel

Davies could do other than excuse the sally he took. It is related, however, that his wife did not, for after his exchange, while his wounds were being dressed by friends at Onancock, she appeared on the scene with her infant daughter in her arms, and broke forth, "you deserve it, a Continental officer to leave your wife and children to fight sailors on the water." Colonel Cropper always referred to her as a "keen ground razor," and it would would seem that she justified the title.

The account of the battle of the barges given by Cropper to Davies was, of course, in the main an official one, and several interesting incidents of the fight are well worth being recorded. A second time his life was saved by a negro slave, but on this occasion the negro was on the side of the enemy. It seems this man, who had belonged to Cropper's father, was a good fellow, but at the same time was desirous of tasting the sweets of liberty. He had run away from home, and was one of Kidd's crew. There was also on the British side an Irish soldier, who had some time previously been taken prisoner by Cropper's men, who had treated him kindly.

This Irishman and the negro had become friendly with each other, their attachment for Colonel Cropper forming a tie between them, and when the British first boarded the *Protector*, these two were among the foremost men. They proceeded towards the stern, where Cropper lay wounded, when the negro stopped suddenly, overcome with surprise on recognizing his old master's son, and called out, "My God, Massa John; and I will die before they shall lay hands on him;" and "I am with you," said the Irishman. They both faced about, and sword in hand, kept back the boarders, declaring no one should harm him. This probably saved Cropper's life, as there was an indiscriminate massacre about this time, 'til Kidd, who had been knocked senseless, came to, and order was restored among his men. This man was given his freedom by Colonel Cropper, who obtained for him a situation in Baltimore. After being removed to one of the enemy's barges, Cropper was laid down in the after part of the stern, faint with loss of blood and nearly insensible of what was passing. Near by lay a wounded Englishman, whose peculiar behavior attracted his attention. This man was seemingly endeavoring to raise himself as if to take a better look at the colonel, but being weakened by his wounds,

fell back several times, and laid to all appearances exhausted. But he had not entirely lost his strength, for on the third or fourth attempt to get up he seized hold of the "four-pound rammer" alluded to by Cropper, and dealt him a severe blow on the head, on the same spot where he had been previously hit by the cutlass. This came near putting an end to his life, and he remained senseless for some time. Care, however, was taken to prevent a repetition of this violence, and the belligerent Briton placed in a safe place.

The Captain, Thomas Parker, who had volunteered with Cropper and others from Accomack to accompany Commodore Whaley, was known among the tories as "Hangman Tom." Along with Colonel Levin Joynes and numbers of others from Accomack, he had been taken prisoner at Germantown, they belonging to the Matthews regiment, which was mostly recruited on the Eastern Shore.

It is related[14] of him that when Earl Harcourt rode along the line of rebel prisoners, who were ragged, worn and drooping, asking each one what his occupation had been, Lieutenant Parker stood erect, and when the question was put to him by the Earl, replied: "I am as my father before me was, a gentleman, and be d——d to you; who are you?"

On December 3d, Commodore Kidd wrote to Colonel Cropper, as follows:

SIR:

Trusting to your Honor, We have sent all the Prisoners that was wounded, as also the Prisoners that is Not Wounded, not Doubting but you will fulfill your agreement with us in regard to the wounded. And as to the Prisoners that are not Wounded, We Do Expect all the men that was taken in the *Jolly Tar*, Comm'd by Capt. Brooks, and immediately to be sent to Hog Island with a Flag to stay our coming.

We remain, Deer Sir, with Friendship, Yours,

JOHN KIDD,
Comm'd of the Fleet of British Barges.

WM. A. PERRY,
Comm'd *Peryorge*.

Shortly after, on January 12th, 1783, Natham Adams, a captain of one of the British barges, wrote to Cropper in regard to

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[14] "*Seven Decades of the Union*"—Henry A. Wise, p. 196.

his exchange, and adds in postscript, he "would be glad if Col. Cropper would send him two barrels of flour and twenty galls. of spirits at the market price. Sends his compliments to him and his Lady, and hopes the time may come when he may have the opportunity of seeing them in peace and quietness."

It is not probable that the British barges remained long in the neighborhood after this date, for the surrender at Yorktown had occurred as far back as October, 1781, and the definite articles of peace were signed at Paris the very day of the fight with Kidd. Cropper's troubles, however, were not yet at an end, for some time after the fight, while at his home, the wound in his head, which had nearly cost him his life, opened afresh.

His wife was engaged in dressing it, and had taken off the bandage, at the same time holding several pins in her mouth. One of these she accidentally swallowed, and met her death in consequence. This proved a great blow to him, and the effect upon his mind was very depressing, so much so that his condition gave his friends serious apprehensions for several years afterwards.

The gallant Whaley, who had so bravely led the Virginians, was interred with military honors on Onancock creek, at what is now a place called "Scott Hall," at one time the residence of Dr. Thomas Bagwell. It is said the spot is unmarked, and has been well nigh forgotten.

Colonel Cropper sent in a petition to the speaker of the House of Delegates, praying that that body would grant him relief for the sums of money he had been compelled to expend as County Lieutenant for the support of the troop of horse and Continental troops, afterwards raised by act of assembly. He states that he had drawn large sums of paper money out of the hands of the commissioners, who received money under that act, and also out of the hands of the sheriff, which he paid into the hands of the Continental Commissary for the county, who had accounted for it to the Commissary General.

In the returns made to the Auditor he stood charged with £71,318, 12s, paper money. Having no other resource, he was obliged to draw upon them, or else suffer the Eastern Shore to be utterly ruined, not doubting that the Legislature would approve his conduct. He farther recites that owing to the treaty

entered into with Kidd to take care of his wounded men and furnish them with medical attendance, he had expended £189, 18s, 3d specie. Colonel Cropper relates in his petition, "that in addition to the calamities of war and cruelties exercised; the plundering of our property, and the burning of our habitations, so successfully and so wantonly practiced by the British Barges on this shore, we had to struggle with and to combat the secret machinations of internal enemies, more dangerous, if possible, than those open and avowed ones. In the year 1781, it was discovered and undoubtedly certain that we had a party amongst us that acted in concert with the barges then on the Islands; some of them were even so daring as to attack several houses in the middle of the country; and not only plundered, but shed the blood of the inhabitants. That they opposed and actually prevented the execution of an act of Assembly for raising the State's quota of troops to serve in the Continental Army, by appearing at the Court-house armed, on the day appointed for the draft." It is not known to the writer to what extent the Legislature made good the expenditures of Colonel Cropper, but on other occasions he contributed largely out of his private means to the aid of the cause, and came out of the war impaired in fortune.

Colonel Cropper was chosen to represent his county in the House of Delegates, which he did from 1784 to 1792; and in 1785, Patrick Henry, then Governor, called on him to again undertake the duties of County Lieutenant. In May, 1793, Governor Henry Lee (Light Horse Harry) made him Lieutenant-Colonel of the Second regiment militia. As such, he had to call out the troops to enforce the embargo resolutions of the next year, and arrested several vessels in Assawaman and Metompkin inlets.

Upon one occasion a brigantine was lying off the latter inlet, preparatory to putting to sea, having taken on her cargo. Cropper expeditiously equipped four boats, and at dawn rowed out to her, being at the head of his men, and boarded her, taking her by surprise before sunrise. In June, 1794, Governor Lee appointed him agent of the Ninth Brigade district, which included the Eastern Shore, the county of Princess Anne, and Borough of Norfolk, in pursuance of an act for the collection of the

arrears of taxes and duties. This required of him and his sureties to enter into a bond of £17,000, lawful money of the Commonwealth, payable to the Governor, for the faithful performance of his duties.

Governor Lee wrote that the exhausted state of the treasury demanded relief, and urged him to use unremitted exertions in compelling payment of delinquents. In 1798, during the threatened war with France, John Adams, then President, wrote to Washington, who was in retirement at Mt. Vernon, inviting him once more to take commad of the American army, then to be raised. To this General Washington consented, and addressed not many months before his death, a letter to Colonel Cropper, placing him at the head of the lower counties, and requesting him to forward a list of suitable men to be officers in the brigade, thus virtually commiting to him the selection of all the officers in that part of the State. The letter is as follows:

MOUNT VERNON, *June 17, 1799.*

SIR:

Was I not well assured of your Patriotism and firm attachment to the Government of our Country, I should think it necessary to apologize for the trouble I am about to give you.

The Secretary of War has signified to me that the President of the United States thinks it highly expedient that no time should be lost in selecting proper Characters to Officer the Twenty four Regiments of Infantry, authorized to be *eventually* raised by a law of the last Congress; and has requested me to furnish him with a list of the names of such persons as are best qualified and willing to serve in the respective Grades of four of these Regiments, which is the proportion allotted to Virginia.

Having been absent from home for about twenty-five years, with short intervals only, and in these intervals a necessary attention to my private concerns confining me almost entirely to my own Estate, I find my acquaintance with the Citizens of this State, particularly with the rising generation, very limited indeed. And, therefore, ready as I always am to do anything in my power to promote the public weal, I find it impossible to perform this task without the assistance of others on whom I can place a reliance.

As these troops are all authorized to be raized only in case of an actual war with a foreign power, or of imminent danger of Invasion of our Territory by such power, it is to be presumed that, in such an event every good citizen would hold himself in readiness to take the field, if necessary, whether belonging to the eventual army or not. I, therefore,

flatter myself that when the President's intention of appointing the Officers for this Army shall be fully known, we shall find many of the valuable officers *who* served with reputation in the Revolutionary war, as well as others, step forward and *offer* their services in grades which they would not accept if their object was to pursue a military career for life, or to continue in the service beyond the exigency which might call them forth. This leads me to hope that, instead of *seeking* for those who are willing to receive appointments, we shall find the best spirits of our country *offering* their services in those grades where their talents and influence can be useful without feeling themselves bound by the scrupulous punctilios of Rank which officers observe when arms are assumed as a profession.

But, in order to place the matter upon certain ground and to pursue it with system, it becomes necessary to make the selection before mentioned; and as the propriety of drawing the officers from different parts of the State, observing as nearly as may be a due proportion to the respective population, is obvious, I must, of course, obtain my information from various sources and combine the result in the best manner I can.

I therefore, sir, take the liberty to ask if you will be so good as to furnish me with the names of such characters as are in your opinion, qualified to fill the several offices in one Regiment of Infantry, a Battalion or part thereof, and who would be willing to receive these appointments, annexing to their names the respective grades, and the places or counties of their Residence.

To facilitate this selection and to observe the proportion before mentioned, I have thought it best to follow the four Grand Divisions of the State, as laid off by the Inspector-General for the purposes of recruiting, and to endeavor to select the Officers of one Regiment from each. In that case the Division in which you reside will comprehend the counties of Hanover, Henrico, New Kent, Charles City, James City, Matthews, Gloucester, York, Warwick, Elizabeth City, Accomac, Northampton, Caroline, King & Queen, Essex, King William, Middlesex, Lancaster, Northumberland, Richmond, Westmoreland, and King George. To these Counties, then, you will be pleased more particularly to confine your attention. But if suitable characters are known to you in other parts of the State, I will thank you for the names of them also. As these Counties form a large district and may comprehend more valuable characters than the acquaintance of any one person in it extends to, it is left with you to advise with others, or from such Counties therein as your intimacy is greatest to select a proportionate part. In a word, Sir, paying some attention to the policy of distribution, to select, in whole or in part, such characters as would do honor to the service, and would be gratifying to your own feelings to command:—a measure, though it cannot be asked, is

highly to be wished, and would have been gladly embraced in the arrangement of the twelve Regiments now recruiting, if anything had appeared at that time indicative of your inclination to re-enter the Military line.

You will readily see that these names must be handed to the President of the United States for his approbation, and afterwards confirmed or rejected by the Senate; it is therefore prôper that no assurances of *appointment* be given to the parties which will render a change impracticable without wounding their feelings too much.

Where you are not personally well acquainted with such Characters as are fit and willing to serve, you will be so good as to obtain the best recommendations and such as you can rely upon. And every cautionary measure is necessary to guard against errors which frequently result from the ease with which recommendations are generally obtained, the partiality of friends and a delusive hope that men of bad habits, by being transplanted into the army, will become good men and good officers.

I have ventured, Sir, to give you this trouble, because from your former services in the Military line, I could confide in your knowledge and judgment of proper Characters to be brought forward at this time, and believing that I might readily count upon your best exertions to render a service to your country.

I will thank you for an acknowledgment of the Receipt of this letter as soon as it gets to your hands, and for your observations on the subject of it, so far as you may then be prepared to give them.

With very great esteem,

I have the honor to be Sir,

Your most obt. St.

Go. Washington.

Colo. John Cropper.

To this Colonel Cropper sent the following reply:

Accomac Courthouse, *4th July, 1799.*

Sir:

I have received your favor of the 17th ultimo by the last mail. The opinions entertained by you of my services in the American war, and the confidence expressed of my patriotism and judgment are a most precious addition to the approbation of my fellow citizens within the circle of my acquaintance. Many more marks of approbation have been bestowed upon me by my countrymen than my services have merited, but not more than will be gratefully remembered to the latest hour of my existence.

After serving my native country for sixteen years, partly in a military and partly in a civil capacity, I resigned in the year 1791 all pretensions

to public office, and prescribed to myself the pleasure of enjoying the remainder of my life in domestic tranquility.

But, sir, I have remained a faithful tho' feeble friend to the Government of the United States, and am one of those who have approved of the administration of it. I believe this Government has been established with as much wisdom, and conducted with as much integrity as any other in the world.

Therefore, considering the critical situation of public affairs at this juncture, and the sacred obligations which bind a dutiful citizen to his country, I shall take upon me the duties assigned by your letter, and perform them according to my best ability.

You may name me to the President of the United States to fill such grade in the provisional army as I may be thought to suit and deserve.

My knowledge of the military characters of the Western Shore part of the division to which I am allotted is very contracted, and, as far as my reflections have gone, shall be much at a loss to ascertain a competent judgement of those with whom I am personally unacquainted.

I am with the greatest respect & esteem,
Your Obdt. Humble Servant,

JNO. CROPPER, JUN'R.

[Addressed]
His Excellency
General Washington,
Mount Vernon.

The trouble with France came to an end, and the army was never raised, but this mark of confidence on the part of Washington was highly appreciated by Cropper, who is said to have treasured the letter as a miser does his gold. Only his intimate friends and relations were ever permitted to read it, and it was till the day of his death one of his most highly prized possessions, and increased, if possible, the love he had for the Father of his Country.

In 1801, Colonel Cropper was called on to serve his county as sheriff, being commissioned by Governor James Monroe.

During the war of 1812 Colonel Cropper again left his home, at Bowman's Folly, to defend his country. In March, 1812, he wrote to Governor James Barbour, announcing the death of Brigadier-General Thomas Mathews, and continues: "As by this melancholy event the command of the Ninth brigade devolves on me as senior officer, I feel it my duty to give your Excellency

immediate notice thereof." In November following, he writes from home, on his return from Norfolk, of a tour in attending to the training of the officers and reviewing the regiments of the Ninth brigade, with which he expresses himself as pleased. These and other troops were stationed at Fort Nelson and Fort Norfolk. The history of the Eastern Shore during the period of the second war with England, appears to be in a great measure a repetition of that of the Revolution, although the attacks of the enemy were not perhaps as severe or as frequent. In March, 1813, he writes to the Governor, telling him of a consultation held with his brother officers in regard to the exposed condition of the Shore. He affirms the willingness of the militia to do all in their power, but complains of their utter lack of adequate supplies of the implements of war. Some idea of their condition and that of the State War Department will be gained from the following extract: "About half of the eighteen hundred cartridges obtained by me at Richmond in June last proved to be good for nothing except the bullets; they appear to be those of the Revolutionary war; the paper and powder mouldered to the finest dust."

Tangier Island, in the Chesapeake, is southeast of the Potomac, and above the mouth of Onancock creek, in Accomack. It was occupied during the war by the British fleet under Cockburn, and it is said the sand redoubts thrown up by the red-coated enemy, are still to be seen.

Again the people of Accomack and Northampton were subjected to the attacks from the barges and tenders cruising in the bay.

In May, 1813, Colonel Cropper wrote to Governor Barbour: "The Legislature of Virginia, at their last session, thought proper to place over my head a gentleman not long since promoted to the rank of major and recently to that of colonel—a man without military experience, I am informed. I entered the army of the Revolution at the age of nineteen, served during the war, and have held the highest military command on the Eastern Shore ever since. My capacity and conduct were always approved of, as I believe. Under the circumstances it becomes my duty to resign the command of the Second regiment; the right to do so, I trust, will not be doubted. The Ninth brigade

in particular, as well as all the militia you command, will carry with them my best wishes for their honor and prosperity.

Your Excellency will no longer consider me bearing a militia commission, but I beg you to accept my sincere respect for the attention you have paid to that part of the State in which I reside and to myself as an officer." Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas afterwards, in January, 1815, commissioned him a brigadier-general of the Twenty-First brigade.

Colonel Cropper represented his district in the State Senate from 1813 to 1817, and was vice-president of the Virginia branch of the Cincinnati Society. Later on, in 1816, he was chosen president, to succeed Colonel John Pryor, and acted for several years in that capacity. The Cincinnati in Virginia, however, did not long survive, for it failed to adopt the hereditary feature in vogue in other States, and as time went on the old Revolutionary officers died off one by one, and their ranks were soon thinned in a way that the soldiers of the Southern Confederacy are unfortunately destined to be in the not far distant future. The Virginia Society disbanded about 1824, and gave all of its funds in hand to Washington College, now Washington and Lee University.[15] Probably the most marked trait in the character of General Cropper was his ardent admiration of, and devotion to Washington. He could not bear to hear anything said in his presence derogatory of the character and fame of that great man, and upon several occasions he was engaged in personal difficulties in consequence. Once, while in the State Senate, he was at a public dinner in Richmond, when a man present proceeded to roundly abuse General Washington. Cropper, whose temper was not of the mildest sort, grabbed a carving-knife and told him "if he didn't shut up he would cut his ears off close to his head," which threat he was happily prevented from putting into execution by his friends, who seized him.

Upon the occasion of Washington's visit to Richmond he was tendered a grand ball by the citizens at the Eagle Tavern. The ball was opened by the minuet, which General Wash-

[15] This fund was deposited in the State Treasury, and was engrossed in the default of the treasurer, Jerman Baker. About 1850, after a long pending suit, $25,000 was recovered from the sureties of Baker and paid to the college.—Ed.

ington danced with Mrs. McClurg, the wife of Dr. James McClurg, and one of the handsomest and most accomplished women in Virginia. It is related as an evidence of Washington's devotion to Cropper that, after leading his partner to a seat, he crossed to the opposite side of the room, where he espied him, and taking him by the hand saluted him in the presence of the whole assembly. Many stories are told about General Cropper, relative to General Washington and the love he bore him. It is said that during the latter years of his life he would gather his children and grandchildren about him at "Bowman's Folly," and on the Fourth of July read to them the Declaration of Independence; and on the 22d day of February he would compel them to listen to the "Farewell Address" complete, while at all times he would read to them from *Marshall's Life of Washington*, this book almost taking the place of the family Bible.

During the period that he was in the Legislature, General Cropper was frequently at dinners and banquets, where various healths were proposed and given. When he was called upon for a toast he would arise and give the only one ever heard from his lips: "*God Bless General Washington.*"[16] He died at his residence, January 15, 1821, after a short illness, leaving a widow, seven children, and ten grandchildren. He had been in the public service about forty-five years, and was a brigadier-general of the Eastern Shore brigade at the time of his death.

His first wife, as already stated, was Margaret Pettitt, the daughter of William Pettitt, a farmer living on Occohannock creek, in Northampton, who had died some years before his daughter's marriage. Of this union there were two children—both daughters. The elder of these, named Sarah Corbin, afterwards married Major John Wise, a prominent lawyer of Accomack and speaker of he tHouse of Delegates in 1797 and 1798. She became the mother of several children, among them Henry A. Wise, whose childhood was partly passed at "Bowman's Folly." The second daughter, called Margaret Pettitt, married Thomas M. Bayly, of Accomack, and was the mother of Thomas H. Bayly, who was a member of the State Assembly, a circuit

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[16] *Recollections of G. W. P. Custis*, p. 170.

judge, and later on elected to Congress from the Eastern Shore district for six terms, succeeding his cousin, Henry A. Wise, who had represented the district the previous six, and who had resigned to become the Minister to Brazil.

General Cropper's second wife was Catherine Bayly, the sister of his son-in-law, Thomas M. Bayly. Of this marriage there were six children, who survived.

I. Anna Corbin Cropper, married Major John Savage. No issue.

II. Elizabeth Washington, married Joseph W. Gibb, and had issue.

III. John Washington, married Mary Savage. Children all died in infancy.

IV. Catherine Bayly, married Augustus W. Bagwell, and had issue.

V. Thomas Bayly Cropper, married Rosina Mix, and had issue, as follows: Catherine Elizabeth, Rosina Mix, Thomas Henry (died in infancy), and John.

VI. Coventon Hanson Cropper, married twice. No issue living.

By his will, written January 10, 1821, five days before his death, General Cropper left his estate, "Bowman's Folly," to his wife, Catherine Cropper for life, along with his slaves and most of his personal property. The remainder of his property, including his military lands in Kentucky and Ohio, which had been granted him by the State as bounty for his services, was to be divided among his children with the exception of Mrs. Bayly, for whom he had provided otherwise. His friends Richard D. Bayly, John G. Joynes and Thomas R. Joynes were named as his executors. After his death his estate, "Bowman's Folly," became the property of Thomas R. Joynes, Mrs. Cropper renouncing the will and taking as her dower portion a farm called "Edge Hill," near the courthouse, where she resided for some years.

Mr. Joynes, who was a son of Colonel Levin Joynes, was the county clerk of Accomack for a period of seventeen years, an able lawyer, and a prominent member of the Virginia Convention of 1829–'30, to which he was chosen as a delegate from his district, his colleagues being Colonel Thomas M. Bayly, Judge Abel P. Upshur and Dr. Calvin H. Read. He was the father of Judge

W. T. Joynes of the court of appeals and Dr. Levin S. Joynes, of Richmond. He moved to "Bowman's Folly" in 1822, which he called "Montpelier," and resided there until his death in 1858.

The following letter from William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States, was written by him to General Cropper's daughter Eliza, afterwards Mrs. Gibb.

WASHINGTON, *February 6th, 1821.*

"I offer you my sincere condolence, my dear Miss. Cropper, on the death of your excellent father, of which sad event your obliging letter of the 20th of last month brought me the first intelligence. I have lost a friend in him, and you an affectionate father; but Heaven, I trust, has gained another inhabitant, and it would be rather selfish in us to lament at a change which has ushered him into unspeakable and never ending happiness. Besides, we are taught by an authority which cannot err that the separation is not eternal, unless we choose to make it so. Upon the supposition then, that we shall do our duty on this earth as well as I trust he has done his, the separation will be but a short one. He has only set out a little before us on a journey on which we shall certainly follow him in a few short years, and I trust we shall hereafter have a far more joyful meeting than we have heretofore experienced on this earth.

Your father, my dear Miss Cropper, has left few men behind him who would not gladly compound for such a life and such a death; a life of so much utility, public and private, and a death which came not to call him until he seemed to have accomplished every purpose for which he had been sent upon this earth. He has, indeed, acted well his part in all the relations of life, and in this, we are told and truly told, lies all the honor. So far as I could judge him, I have never known a man who was more scrupulously punctilious in the discharge of every duty, public and private, and that such, too, was the opinion of his country is proven by the honorable marks of her confidence, which he enjoyed 'till the day of his death. To live and to die, beloved, honored and respected; to live to a good, old age, and to leave behind him a large family, the heirs of his respectability, as well as most respectable in themselves, amply provided for as to this world and with the fairest opportunities and hopes for the next; to spend his last moments with a memory lingering on the brilliant retrospect of a life well spent, and to die, with Faith pointing his way to Heaven—who would not feel rather disposed to envy such a fate than to mourn over it?

The account you give me of the little incident about three weeks before his death of requesting you to trace with him the military map of New Jersey, and the old war songs with which he closed the ideal

excursion, is very interesting. The soldier's heart beat in his bosom to the last, and those scenes were the freshest, as well as sweetest, to his recollection, in which he had in the morning of life, drawn his sword in his country's cause, under the banners, too, of the immortal Washington. Ere this they have met and recognized each other. Think what a meeting! Can Death be a calamity which brings about such an interview as this—and more especially when even the joy of such an interview is faint in comparison with the brighter and more inconceivable joys that surround him.

* * * * * * * * * *

Mrs. Wirt and my daughter desire their respectful compliments, and I pray Heaven to bless you both here and hereafter.

(Signed) WILLIAM WIRT.

The portrait of General Cropper and that of his wife, Catherine Bayly Cropper, with other family relics, are in the possession of his grandson, Mr. John Cropper, of Washington, D. C.

The likenesses were executed by Charles Wilson Peale in the latter part of the year 1792. Peale himself had been a soldier in the Revolution, and was an old army friend. Prior to this period he had gone to London to study under West, and for a considerable time before and after the war he is said to have been the only famous portrait-painter in America, Smybert and Copley having disappeared, and Trumbull and Stuart not then become familiar. He painted the first likeness of Washington in 1772, Washington being a Virginia colonel at the time, besides a dozen or more other ones of him later on, and over a hundred portraits mostly of celebrated Americans connected with the Revolution or Continental Congress.

Cropper's portrait was taken when he was about thirty-six years of age. It represents him as a stout man, with a ruddy complexion and marked features, and with brown hair and blue eyes. He is dressed in his uniform of Continental blue, with scarlet facings, and is holding the handle of his dress, silver-mounted rapier, the blade of which rests across his arm. His wife appears a handsome woman, with beautiful auburn hair and lovely complexion. A number of souvenirs of General Cropper are in the possession of his family, among them his sword, a light, triangular rapier—the one that is taken in his portrait—his original diploma as a member of the Cincinnati, signed by Washington, and his badge of the same order. There were among

others a number of pieces of cannon captured at Yorktown of French make. A dozen of these were presented to La Fayette, which he in turn gave to his favorite officers. One of these was a brass four pounder that had been cast in France, bearing a number of mottoes and devices inscribed upon it, with the name "Junon" at the muzzle. This he gave to Colonel Cropper, and it is still in his family.[17] The Marquis and Cropper corresponded at intervals, and there were several of La Fayette's letters among the latter's papers after his death, which are not now to be found.

General Cropper's death was a great loss to the people of the Eastern Shore, whom he had long served, and to the old soldiers of the Revolution, whom he befriended in every way.

The condition of the Virginia people is said to have been even worse after the Revolution, than after the Civil war in 1865. Poverty and destitution were widespread, and but few people had the money to buy what they needed. He was often appealed to, and not in vain, to aid his more unfortunate countrymen. His remains were interred at "Bowman's Folly," where he was born, which has within the last year or two again passed into the hands of a Cropper, and is owned by his grandson, who bears his name.

The original house built by Edmund Bowman, the ancestor of General Cropper, and which was standing during the Revolution, was pulled down about the year 1815, and the present one, which in that day was considered very grand, constructed upon the former site. Before the dwelling was built, General Crop-

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[17] A number of these brass guns of various sizes were brought to America by our French allies during the Revolution. The period of their manufacture was during the reign of Louis XIV. They were richly ornamented in design, chased by the hand and chisel. Several of these guns, 24 pounders, and mortars of large size, were an attraction of the armory grounds at Richmond prior to the late war. All of them, save two, which were sent to the Virginia Military Institute, at Lexington, were melted and recast into light field pieces to meet the exigencies of the Confederate States Army. If the gun mentioned in the text was "captured at Yorktown" it must have been one previously taken by the British from the Continental Army. An account of the "Old French Guns formerly at the Virginia Armory" with others, was published by the present writer in *Richmond Standard*, October 5, 12, 19, 1878.—Ed.

per's slaves were taken from their usual labors on the plantation and made to haul earth for several months to make the mound on which it was constructed, the ground along Folly creek being naturally perfectly level. The county of Accomack generally is too flat to be a really picturesque country, but to those who love the soughing of the pines, and the murmur of the ocean, the peninsula land of Virginia has many charms, and General Cropper was devoted to his home. When he returned from his journeyings abroad he would roll on the grass beneath the tall, overhanging boughs of the trees surrounding his house, and where the breeze coming in from the ocean would sweep over him, and he would declare it to be the dearest spot on earth. He sought to make his home attractive, and a beautiful park of stately trees, where the deer roamed at will, was one of its features. Across the road, at some distance from the house, and at the end of a long lane, was "Cropperville." This place was part of the original tract, which he had given to his brother Thomas, of whom he was very fond, and on which he had built a house for him. General Cropper was a patron of education, and was one of the founders of Margaret Academy, a high-grade classical school, at which many of the leading men of the Eastern Shore have been educated. It was given its name, "Margaret," as a tribute to his beloved wife, Peggy Pettitt, whose memory it was designed to perpetuate.

In politics General Cropper was a staunch Federalist, as were a majority of the Virginia gentlemen of that period. He was in war a gallant soldier, well suited to the times in which he lived, and in peace a country squire, and belonged to a civilization now as dead as that of the Medes and Persians.

His story, however, serves to recall the hardships and privations of our ancestors during the infancy of the country, and is a reminder of the mighty struggle with England, in which

"The old-time Continentals,
In their ragged regimentals,
Faltered not."

BARTON HAXALL WISE.

Richmond, Virginia.

ORDERLY BOOK

OF

Major William Heth

OF THE

Third Virginia Regiment,

MAY 15—JULY 1,

1777.

INTRODUCTION.

Paens to the virtue, valor and worth of the impressive "Scotch-Irish race" increase in volume as the years pass and orators and books multiply. The generic designation is made more and more comprehensive in its representation.

William Heth, to whose providence posterity is indebted for the accompanying memorial of the Revolution,[1] was truly an example of the admired component strain.

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[1] It was presented to the Virginia Historical Society in September, 1881, by the late Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., who inscribed upon its cover: "Found among the papers of my father, Captain Philip Slaughter, the comrade in-arms of Major Heth in the American Revolution."

The Slaughter family can be traced back in England to 1485, when the name was spelled Schlostre. John Slaughter was a grantee of land in eastern Virginia as early as 1635. In 1731, Robert and Francis Slaughter were chosen as the first church wardens of St. Mark's parish, Culpeper county. Robert Slaughter married a daughter of Cadwalader Jones, of Essex county, and had issue seven sons, of whom the fifth, James, "commanded a regiment at the battle of Great Bridge" in 1775, the first engagement of the Revolution in Virginia. He married Susan, daughter of Major Philip Clayton, and the eldest of their issue was Philip Slaughter, born December 4, 1758; died 1849; entered Captain John Jameson's company of minute men from Culpeper county in 1775, and marched with it to Williamsburg to reclaim the powder seized by Lord Dunmore.

Having been discharged from military service, Philip Slaughter re-entered school, but in the spring of 1776, he re-enlisted in Colonel John Jameson's troop of cavalry for a term of three years.

Before it marched, however, he was appointed by the Committee of Safety of Culpeper county a lieutenant in Captain Gabriel Long's company of riflemen, which joined the army under General Washington in New York. In 1777 this company was attached to the Eleventh Vir-



His father, John Heth, is said to have emigrated from the North of Ireland some time during the earlier half of the eighteenth centrury. He settled first in Pennsylvania, and married there Mary Mackey,[2] of Scotch parentage. Here,[3] it is presumed, William, the eldest of a somewhat noted family of twelve children—six sons and six daughters—was born July 19, 1750. Of his brothers, Henry [4] and Andrew, served with the rank of

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ginia regiment on Continental Establishment, commanded by the celebrated Daniel Morgan. Lieutenant Slaughter was promoted captain in 1778, and served gallantly throughout the war, participating among others in the momentous battles of Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth. He was one of those who endured the bitter hardships of Valley Forge. His messmates were the two Porterfields, Charles and Robert, Lieutenant Johnson, and Captain John Marshall (subsequently the Chief Justice). Captain Slaughter kept a diary of his campaigns, which was unfortunately lost during the late war. Subsequent to the Revolution he held various civil offices. among which was that of High Sheriff of Culpeper county. He was twice married, his first wife being a daughter of French Strother, and his second a daughter of Colonel Thomas Towles. The issue by the two marriages was nineteen children—sons and daughters—whose descendants, now numbering several hundred, comprehend many of the most estimable family names in the State and Union. *Slaughter's History of St. Mark's Parish*, and *History of St. George's Parish*, second edition, with Memoir of Dr. Slaughter by the present writer.

[2] A relative of Dr. Robert Mackey, of Winchester, Virginia, an executor of Colonel Thomas Bryan Martin (the nephew of Lord Fairfax), and the maternal great-grandfather of ex-Governor F. W. M. Holliday.

[3] Several diaries kept by Colonel William Heth whilst a prisoner in Quebec, Canada in 1776, in 1788, and in 1792, are in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Richard Heth Munford Harrison, Richmond. In that of 1792, Colonel Heth gives an account of a visit to his parents, whose residence appears then to have been in Ohio county, in what was known as the "Pan-Handle," and not far distant from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

[4] Henry Heth married in Richmond, November 10, 1787, Nancy Hare. He was United States Commissioner of Loans for the State of Virginia, and owned the Blackheath coal pits, in Chesterfield county, which were subsequently operated by his son, John Heth, who, in 1837, incorporated this property and another adjacent, as the Blackheath and Huguenot Coal and Iron Companies, with a directory composed of himself, Dr. John Brockenbrough, president of the Virginia Bank, and William H.

captain in the Revolution; John, who entered the army in 1777 at the age of seventeen as a cadet, attained the rank of lieutenant. He was appointed March 5, 1792, captain Second United States infantry, and served under Wayne in his campaign against the Northwestern Indians. He was a member of the Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, and died November 15, 1810. Andrew Heth also served subsequent to the Revolution as a commissioner for apportioning and surveying the lands granted by Virginia to the Illinois regiment.

Of the sisters of William Heth, Mary became the wife of one of his army comrades, Captain Robert Porterfield, subsequently general of the State militia, and Anne or Nancy, the wife of another, Lieutenant Josiah Tannehill, subsequently colonel of militia.

Of the boyhood and educational advantages of William Heth his descendants can furnish no definite account. His diaries, however, recorded in a flowing hand, exhibit refined tastes, acute discernment, and ease of diction. He appears to have been a lover of music and the drama, and a judicious critic of both. He had the faculty of versification, and was skilled in the use of the pencil, and notes the copying thus of engravings and the making of portraits of his wife and of several of his female friends. His first military service is believed to have been as a lieutenant

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Macfarland, president of the Farmers' Bank, Richmond. In 1839 he went to England, and endeavored, unsuccessfully, to capitalize the property at £200,000. Another son, Beverley Heth, operated the Norwood coal mine in Powhatan county. He married in 1830, Virginia, daughter of Robert Gwathmey, and died December 29, 1842, aged thirty-five years, leaving issue. The daughters of Captain Henry Heth married respectively Messrs. Temple Gwathmey, Richard H. Cunningham, Archibald M. Harrison, Miles Cary Selden, Robert Beverley Randolph and Thomas Lynch Hamilton, of South Carolina. John Heth was appointed a midshipman, United States Navy, but resigned in 1822. He was latterly known as "Colonel." He married Margaret, daughter of George Pickett, Richmond, and aunt of the late George E. Pickett, Major-General Confederate States Army. Colonel John Heth died at "Needwood," Chesterfield county, Virginia, April 30, 1842. Among his issue were the first wife of the late Colonel Julian Harrison, Confederate States Army, and Major-General Harry Heth, Confederate States Army, now of Washington, D. C.

in the company of Daniel Morgan in Lord Dunmore's[5] expedition against the Indians in 1774. The following year, as one of the captains of the three companies under Daniel Morgan, he participated in the expedition of Arnold against Quebec, which began its arduous march through the wilderness of Maine, September 16th. In the unsuccessful assault of Quebec, December 31, 1775, he was wounded and taken prisoner, and kept in captivity more than six months. His diary of prison life, covering the period February 3—July 1, 1776, has been preserved. In the orderly book, the last entry of which is July 1, 1777, there is no record of his promotion, but his appointment as lieutenant-colonel must have been announced soon thereafter, and it dated from April 1, 1777.[6] He was subsequently promoted colonel, and is stated served under Lincoln in the siege of Charleston, and to have commanded the regiment to the close of the war.[7] The latter statement is evidently erroneous, as he appears on the list of supernumerary officers October, 1781.[8] The writer is in possession of no further details of the service of Colonel Heth in the Revolution.

In 1787 he was appointed a member of the Council of State of Virginia, a position then entailing frequent and exacting service, as the body decided upon the claims for service in the Revolution; examined the accounts of various officers of the State, and was consulted by the Governor in the appointment of State officers. In the act of the Virginia Assembly, passed March 1, 1784, ceding to the United States all the territory held by the State "North-Westward of the river Ohio," it was stipulated "that the necessary and reasonable expenses incurred by Virginia in subduing British posts, maintaining garrisons, etc.," were to be reimbursed by the United States government. In

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[5] He was allowed by the State of Virginia, May 21, 1783, 7,777½ acres bounty land for service from June, 1774. *Military Certificates*, Book No. 1, p. 458. December 8, 1809. His representatives were allowed additionally 688 acres. Book No. 2, p. 926, Virginia Land Registry.

[6] *Saffell's Records of the Revolution*, p. 276, and *Drake's Biographical Dictionary*, so give the date of his appointment as lieutenant-colonel.

[7] Drake.

[8] See *Ante*, p. 266.

January, 1788, Colonel Heth and David Henley were appointed commissioners on the part of Virginia to settle with John Pierce, commissioner of army accounts of the United States, the claim of Virginia. His diary of daily events and experiences in the execution of his commission presents a curious and interesting mirror of the period.

On Friday, February 15, 1788, he "left Richmond in the Stage without company ½ after seven o'C; drove at the rate of 8 miles an hour; breakfasted at Norvell's. Dined at Linch's & reached Bolling Green [Caroline] county ½ after 4 o'C."

Saturday 16th. "Reached Fredericksburg about 11 o'C. No company going on to Alex'a, & from Acct's of the badness of the road & high waters I concluded to stay until Tuesday's Stage when I expect Colo. Henley.—Making my quarters good at Gen'l Weedon's where I dined with a British officer, Capt. Engs, from Canada, making a tour through the Continent & who in the course of conversation I found was one of those who commanded a guard over us when I was a Prisoner in Quebec in 1776. He has a nose of such a size, shape & complexion as excited my curiosity as much to touch it as that what possessed the bandy legged drummer's wife when the promontory of noses was passing through Strasburg."

Sunday, 17th. "Dined at Gen'l Weedon's in compan'y with Colo. Ball, Doct. Mortimer and Domine Rian. Spent an hour with Colo. Wallace in the forenoon.

18th. Gen'l Weedon, Colo. Ball & Self dined with Doct. Mortimer & Spent the Evening at Colo. Ball's."

Tuesday, 19th. "Took leave of Gen'l Weedon & went off in Stage alone. Dined at Stafford C. H.; reached Dumfries about 7 o'C in the evening. Spent it very agreeably at McDonald's tavern in Comp'y with my old friend, Mr. A. Henderson."

20th. "Left Dumfries alone before 6 o'C—reached Colchester between 8 and 9. Understanding that the Patowmack was impassible I sent on my trunk to Alexandria and hiring a horse rode down to Colo. Geo. Mason's, where I din'd & spent the day. Very politely received & treated."

21st. "Took my leave after breakfast of Colo. Mason, who sent a servant & pair of horses with me to Mount Vernon, where

I was fortunate enough to find the General without any other company than Colo. Humphreys who has been here some months. Dined & Spent an agreeable day ; find that the General is very anxious to see the proposed Federal Constitution adopted by all the States. He received letters this Evening from Boston and New York informing him that the Convention of Massachusetts, then sitting, would unquestionably accept of it."

Friday, 22d February. "Took my leave of the Gen'l (and family after breakfast) who sent with me a servant & pr. Horses. Maj'r Geo. Washington was polite enough to accompany me two or three miles; reached Alexandria between 11 & 12 o'C. expecting to go with the Stage which did not get in from the Southward to-day. Dined with Mr. Arthur Lee at our lodgings, Mr. Leigh's. Spent the afternoon with Mr. W. Hunter, and an hour or two in the evening with my old friend, Doct'r [James] Craik."

23d. "Left Alexandria ab't 12 o'C & crossed at George Town, going from the Virg'a shore to the Island in a Cannue & from thence walked over on the Ice which by drifting is filled up to an amazing thickness. Dined in Geo. Town and as the Baltimore Stage had come on no further than Bladensburg owing to the mismanagement of the driver I was put on that length in a chair, where I arrived about 7 o'C."

24th. "Left Bladensburg about 6 o'C. Reached Baltimore between 4 and 5 o'C. Spent an hour or two with my intimate friend Gen'l [Otho H.] Williams. Wrote Eliza [his wife] the 4th letter [since leaving her]."

25th. Left Baltimore ½ after 7 o'C in company with Mrs. Jackson (her husband riding on horseback) of Philadelphia, a sensible, gentle Lady, Mr. Richard Cursons, Jr., Merch't, Baltimore, Benedict Hale, of this State, a gentleman with whom I was acquainted at Bath [Va.] in the year 1768, Mr. Scott, a lawyer, and two young fellows going to Philadelphia. Reached the Susquehannah a little after sun set. We concluded not to venture to cross 'til morning."

26th. "Arose all hands at 5 o'C and as it had froze pretty hard we set out as soon as we could fairly see across. The ferryman piloting us & dragging our baggage and Mr. Jackson on

a small steed a little better than a mule, got all over without any boat or danger & set off in the stage ⅓ after 6 o'C. Breakfasted at head of Elk & refreshed in Wilmington while horses were changing; halted for the same purpose at Chester & got to Phil'a about 10 o'C at night. Stopped at the Indian Queen, 4th Street.

27th. "Spent the day in delivering letters & doing private business for Gen'l Weedon & others. Dined at Mr. Sam'l Pleasants; waited on Mrs. Jackson in the evening; received many thanks from her husband for my attention to her. Met with Miss Rittenhouse & a Miss Dale, both of whom played a few pieces on the Piano forte, as did Mrs. Leath, sister of Mrs. Jackson. Took my leave between 7 & 8 o'C."

28th. "Set out [with stage] for New York at 6 o'C; reached the Gen'l Washington ¼ after 7 o'C—10 miles; Breakfasted and changed Horses; drove to Burlington 10 miles in 1 hour and 15 minutes; changed horses and drove to the upper ferry at Trenton in 1 Hour and 20 minutes; found the river hard frozen on each side so far as to throw the whole water within the compass of 100 yards, which ran with great rapidity; walked to the edge of the Ice & then got into a small skiff with two other passengers and the ferryman, who, notwithstanding the strength of the current, managed the boat with great ease, but striking the boat against a piece of ice, which had broken off, he had nearly overset us. Dined at Trenton & drove to Princetown, 12 miles in one hour & a half; halted a few minutes and put on with the same horses to Jones', 8 miles, drove in less than one hour & a quarter. As it was then between 7 & 8 o'C & we had the river to cross on the Ice, which they drove over with waggons, we concluded to go no further & the Stage returned to Jones's."

29th. "Curson & Self put on in a Sleigh. Set out ½ after 6 o'C; drove over the Rariton river in full trot & reach'd Woodbridge, 10 miles in one hour and 12 minutes, where we breakfasted changing sleigh horses & got to Elizabeth Town Point, 12½ miles in one hour and 13 minutes; crossed over in a skiff to Staten Island & then put on in a sleigh about 3 miles to Ivesons', where we fell in with a number of market people going to New York; embarked in a large boat with two sails, a cabbin

with stove & crossing over to Bergen Point, landed two men with their horses & then put round for New York, which we reached in 58 minutes, 12 miles. Put up at the City Tavern & dined & then went to Ellsworth's to wait on Mr. [James] Madison and Mr. Beacon. The first not within. Left the papers and letters with the latter, delivered sundry Private letters; waited on my old friend and fellow Prisoner in Quebeck, Gen'l [John] Lamb; affectionately received and invited to dine with him to-morrow. Lodged at the City Tavern."

Saturday, March 1st. Waited on Mr. Maddison after Breakfast; find him prepared to leave Town to-morrow for Virg'a. Waited on Mr. Cyrus Griffin, another delegate from Virg'a & President of Congress, where I am to meet the delegation in the evening & to dine to-morrow. Mr. Maddison consented to stay 'til Monday to introduce the business & do everything in his power to promote the Object of Virg'a. Dined with Gen'l. Lamb; most cordially treated & rec'd with a general invitation.

3d. "Mr. Madison laid the business before Congress this forenoon when it was referred to a Committee of five, viz: Gen'l. Wadsworth of Connec.; Mr. Dare, of Mass.; Mr. Clarke, of Jersey; Gen'l. Irvine, of Penn.; and Mr. Kearney, of Delaware. Went to the play in company with the President [Mr. Griffin] and three other members of Congress. Agreeably enough entertained with the "Duenna"; some good musick and admirable singing by Mrs. Henry, who is the third sister and third wife to Henry, the comedian."

4th. Dined with Mr. Pierce, who in politeness to me had invited Gen'l Knox, Sec'y at War; Gen'l Wadsworth, Cap't Dayton, Mr. Gilman and Mr. Wingate, Members of Congress. Went home with Gen'l Knox and spent the evening with him, 'til near 12 o'C. Engaged to dine with him on Saturday. Took leave of Mr. Madison at the ferry boat between 1 & 2 o'C."

The adjustment of the claim of Virginia progressed but slowly, the "award" not being signed by the Commissioners until May 15th. In the meantime, whilst he unremittingly left undone nothing likely in his information and apprehension to promote the interest of Virginia, Colonel Heth continued to be constantly and variedly "most agreeably" entertained and diverted. He

breakfasted, dined or supped, among many others, with Baron Steuben, Governor Clinton, John Wickham and wife, Generals Irvine, Butler, Williams, Webb and St. Clair, Arthur Lee, Samuel Osgood, Andrew J. Pickens, Colonels Alexander Hamilton, Rice, Henry and Burr—"A fellow adventurer on Arnold's march," James Wilson, "the Signer of the Declaration of Independence," "Mr. Paradise of English parents, but who was born in Turkey, whose Lady was a Ludwell born in Virg'a and is first cousin to R. H. Lee," and "Mr. McComb, an Irishman who has made his *plumb* as a trader at Detroit and contractor to the British." Many of his evenings were devoted to the "Play-house" and other "diversions." He mentions the "wonderful performances in balancing, &c, under the direction of Signor Carli—the performers, a negro man and a small white boy," the playing of Miss Eccles on the harpsichord and among many other plays that of "The School for Soldiers, or the Deserter," "a most affecting performance & admirably executed ; a very crowded house & many weeping Eyes."

April 15th. He notes the quelling by the military of a mob which sought vengeance on some medical students—detected body-snatchers. In the riot, four citizens lost their lives and many others received injuries, among them Baron Steuben, "a wound between his eyes" and Mr. Jay who "got his scull almost cracked."

Colonel Heth left New York to return home in the afternoon of May 16th, and reached Richmond on the 26th. He "lodged at Harry's," his brother's house, that night and got home, ["Curles," in Henrico county,] the following morning to breakfast. "Happy once more in meeting my Eliza & boy well."

His successful accomplishment of his commission met the commendation of the Governor and Council, and later he was voted additional compensation for his services by the Assembly.

His time, as now recorded, was divided in attention to his farm, attendance on the State Convention then in session, at the Council Chamber, and in social claims.

He appears almost daily to have been entertained by his friends or to have extended bounteous hospitality at "Curles." His

guests, sometimes more than twelve in number, would reach his home in the forenoon and spend the day, some remaining unti the following morning and others several days. They included members of the Convention from various sections of the State, old army comrades, the Governor (then Edmund Randolph), Captain Marshall (the future Chief Justice), prominent citizens of Richmond, and neighboring planters and their wives and daughters.

And so the welcome extended and prevailed. Sometimes the guests yielded to the solicitations of other friends and accompanied them home, and thus an intended visit of one day was prolonged into an absence from home of often more than a week. It was a charming social system, as free from pomp and factitious restraint as it was spontaneous and refined.

It was an existence, in its purity and reality, never to be revived, fostered by circumstances which have been ruthlessly destroyed and over-shadowed.

Among the early appointments of President Washington was that of Colonel Heth as Collector of the Ports of Richmond, Petersburg, and Bermuda Hundred, a position which was conscientiously and efficiently filled. Colonel Heth was a man of decided convictions. He was devoted to Washington, and was as constant in his political faith as he was consistent in his code of social ethics.

The election of Jefferson to the Presidency betrayed the impulsive veteran into some asperities of speech and the perpetration of a rhyming pasquinade, in which he dealt very freely with some alleged frailties of the President.

His transgression received summary attention. His office was first divided and diminished, the collectorship of Richmond being bestowed on Major James Gibbon, and a little later he was entirely superseded by the appointment of John Page in July, 1802, to the collectorship of Petersburg and Bermuda Hundred. The action of Colonel Heth was prompt. He turned over at once the books of his office to his deputy, Charles Turnbull, and requested the adjustment of his accounts. The health of Mr. Page not allowing him to qualify, Colonel Heth was constrained

to remain at his post until November following, when Dr. John Shore entered upon the duties of the office.[9]

Colonel Heth was one of the delegates from Virginia to the convention which met in Philadelphia May 4, 1784, and organized the General Society of the Cincinnati ; and he was also one of those who met at Fredericksburg, Virginia, October 6, 1783, and organized the Virginia branch of the Society. He was unanimously elected treasurer of the State Society at the meeting held in Richmond, November 16, 1786, and continued to hold the office until his death.

Colonel Heth was stout in person and of medium stature. He had lost an eye from a wound received during the war. A bust portrait of him in crayon is in the possession of his great-grandson, Mr. Richard Heth Munford Harrison, Richmond, Virginia.

The death of Colonel Heth, by apoplexy, was sudden. The exact date has not been preserved, but it was in April, 1807, some time prior to the 8th, as on that day his will was admitted to probate.

He was twice married, and mentions in his will slaves received by his first wife, whose name is not given. He married secondly Eliza, daughter of Gray and Dorothea (Pleasants) Briggs.[10]

He appears to have possessed a comfortable estate, which included slaves, stocks and three farms—"Curles," "Bremo" and "Shilela." His executors were John Marshall, Edward Carrington, Harry Heth, his brother, and Henry G. Heth,[11] his son. He mentions his son, Henry G., and daughters, Mary Andrewetta, Ann Eliza Agnes Pleasants and Margaret Thomas

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[9] Still the war upon Colonel Heth did not cease. An amount of several hundred dollars accruing from a commission fixed by Congress was disputed. Colonel Heth referred the matter to the courts, where the legal decision was in his favor, and he received a receipt from the government in full and final satisfaction of his accounts. The net emoluments of the office appear to have been about $4,000 annually.

[10] Gray Briggs was a native of England, and his wife, the daughter of John Pleasants, of "Curles," son of John and Dorothea (Cary) Pleasants, and grandson of John Pleasants (and his wife Jane, widow of Samuel Tucker), who emigrated from Norwich, England, and settled at "Curles," James river, in 1668. Born 1640; died May 12, 1698

[11] Drowned by the capsizing of a sail-boat in James river October 7, 1816.

Jaquelin Heth. These respectively married Richard Lorton, Bowler Cocke and Samuel Pleasants, M. D. He provides also with lands in Kentucky for his adopted or acknowledged son, William H. Heth, "commanding the ship John Marshall, owned by Archibald Gracie, of New York."[12] The widow of Colonel Heth married secondly Lightfoot Janney, but they had no issue.

Of the issue of Richard and Mary Andrewetta (Heth) Lorton, Margaret A. E. became the wife of John Nicholas Harrison,[13] the son of Benjamin and Dolly Pleasants Gray Briggs (Nicholas) Harrison, and grandson of Benjamin Harrison, of "Wakefield," and grandson of Colonel John and Dolly (Briggs) Nicholas.

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[12] His descendants in Kentucky are said to be held in high social esteem.

[13] Parents of Richard Heth Munford Harrison.

ORDERLY BOOK

OF

MAJOR WILLIAM HETH,

1777.

Bound Brook, May 15th, 1777.

D. Orders.

The General having Observ'd that many of the Men make a practice of lying or sitting on the Ground, Often on such as is wet and Cold, desires that the Officers would pay particular attention to correct a Custom so injurious.

The Field Officer of the day will in future take the names of the Commanders of Guards and their strength on parade & transmit the same to the Commissary that he may be enabled to issue their Rum without any further trouble to the Officer of the day.

One Capt. 2 subs. 3 Serg'ts, 3 Corps, 2 Drum's and Fifes & 40 Privates are to relieve Picquet now furnished by Colo. Arnold from Quibble-Town on the road leading thither to-morrow morning, this to be done daily till further orders.

A Drum and fife will for the future [attend] every Capt's Guard, as also that of the Genl's Field Officer of the day to-morrow Lt. Col. Nelson.[14] All the Drums & fifes in this division will attend on the Guard parade at Guard Mounting.

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[14] The Virginia Convention in session at Richmond, January 12, 1776, by ballot elected the following as officers of the Seventh Virginia regiment: William Dangerfield, Colonel (see *ante*, p. 216); Alexander McClanahan, Lieutenant-Colonel, and William Nelson, Major. The last named was subsequently promoted lieutenant-colonel, and is presumed to have been the officer of the text. Waddill (*Annals of Augusta County, Virginia*, p. 160) states that Colonel McClanahan was at the

BOUND BROOK, 16th May, 1777.

D. ORDERS. *Parole. C'Sign.*

The General is sorry that he is again Obliged to direct that no Officer commanding a Picquet or any out post presume to be reliev'd till he has first informed the Officer relieving him the Ground.

B. BROOK, May 17th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

The 7th and 11th Reg'ts will be on parade to-morrow at 4 o'clock in the Afternoon and go through the Exercise & Evolutions.

The General desires the Officers will be particularly attentive to have their Men clean and their Arms in the best order.

D. O. *Parole. C. Sign.*

Field Officer of the day to-morrow, Col. Bowman.[15]

CAMP B. BROOK, May 17th, 1777.

GEN'L ORDERS.

The Officers of Reg'ts are to attend the parade at Reveille. Beating at ten o'clock & four in the afternoon.

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battle of Great Bridge, near Norfolk, December 9, 1775, in which every British grenadier was killed, without loss to the Virginians. He served under General Andrew Lewis at Williamsburg in 1776, and was commissioned colonel of the Seventh Virginia, October 7, 1776. At that time General Woodford's brigade was composed of the Third, Seventh, Eleventh, and Fifteenth regiments. McClanahan retired from the army before the end of the war. He married Miss Shelton, a sister of the first wife of Patrick Henry. He had issue—two daughters—Mrs. Abney and Mrs. Austin, and a son, John, who died unmarried.

[15] January 12, 1776, Abraham Bowman was appointed by the Virginia Convention lieutenant-colonel of the Eighth Virginia or "German Regiment," of which Peter Muhlenburg was appointed colonel. The latter was subsequently promoted major-general. Bowman received from the State of Virginia, October 1, 1810, 7,591⅔ acres of land as bounty for seven years and ten months' service.

Mr. Tauny Hill[16] to rank as First Lieutenant in consequence of a Vacancy that happened the 15th of Nov'r.

DAN'L MORGAN.

NEAR B. BROOK, May 19th, 1777.

REG'L ORDERS.

The Drum & Fife Majors must take particular care that the Drummers & Fifers are particularly drest, their Drums & Fifes in good Order and that they practice together one hour every day.

No Drummer or Fifer to play or Beat after Tattos & Reveille Beating except by order of the Commanding Officer.

It gives me pleasure to see the officers of the Regt's appear clean & genteel on the parade, And hope and Expect that they will take care that their Men in like Manner for the future appear decent & clean on the parade as nothing attends so much to the health of Soldiers as Cleanliness.

A Fatigue to parade to-morrow at Troop Beating under Direction of the Quarter Masters.

That the Adjutant attend every Morning at Reveille and Retreat Beating to Enquire where the Absent Men are & the reason why they are absent.

COL. MORGAN,[17] *Com'g.*

BOUND BROOK, May 19th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

The Commanding Officer of each Corps will immediately draw Ammunition to complete their Men & see that their Arms are well Clean'd and kept in constant good order.

For the future the Officers of each Company will carefully examine at Retreat Beating what are loaded, it is necessary to have discharged & those of each Company in a Battalion Assem-

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[16] Josiah Tannehill, subsequently, from January 1, 1782, paymaster and clothier of Colonel Gibson's regiment, colonel of militia; and after the war married Nancy, sister of Colonel William Heth.

[17] The celebrated Daniel Morgan.

ble together under the Command of a Captain who is to march them to some Convenient place & see that they & only they discharge their Arms, & March them back to their Regimental parade & Dismiss them. Any soldier that is discovered firing his piece at any time will be severely punish'd. Every Officer who observes such firing out of time is deser'd to Confine the Offinder immediately.

D. ORDERS. *Parole. C. Sign.*

A General Court Martial to sit to-morrow at 10 O'clock for the Trial of the Prisoners in the Main Guard.

COL. SPOTSWOOD,[18] *President.*

The Court to Sit in the Red House opposite the Grand Parade. Field officer of the day, to-morrow, Major Davis.

CAMP NEAR B. BROOK, May 20th, 1777.

R. O.

The Commanding Officers of the different Companies are desir'd to make an immediate Return of what Arms are wanting to Complete their Companies and such as are unfit for service, also the Number of Flints wanting to furnish two to each Man, and Cartridges to fill up their Boxes.

D. ORDERS.

The Quibble Town Piquet Guard, the Brunswick & lower Rariton are to be re-inforced with two Subalterns, 1 Serg't, 1 Corp'l & 10 privates each—A Subaltern to go at all times with

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[18] Alexander, son of Colonel John, the eldest son of Colonel Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1710-1722, was first captain of an independent company; appointed major of the Second Virginia regiment, August 17, 1775; promoted lieutenant-colonel; received, September 4, 1790, 6,000 acres of land as bounty from the State of Virginia.

the Scouts by day & Night & no attack to be made on the Sentries [except] by leave obtained from the Commanding Officer of the Guard who shall send out such Scouts or Patrols. Care will be taken by the Scouts fully to Examine all houses, places where an Enemy may be conceal'd before they pass, & while observing the State of the Enemy, particular Care will be taken by having Sentries on Commanding Ground in the front to watch their Motions & prevent the Scouts being out-flank'd and enclos'd. The General is sorry to have so much firing at Retreat Beating as has been some days past & is surpriz'd that the orders of May 20th which mention'd the discharging such Guns only as had been long Charg'd, or was wet, or such as shou'd urg'd in Justification thereof.

No Guns in future will be discharg'd at Retreat Beating saving such as shall be permitted by the Commanding Officers of the several Divisions. The 11th Virg'a Reg't to be muster'd to-morrow therefore Exempted from any other Duty.

Field Officer of the day to-morrow Lt. Col. Butler. Adjutant—Mr. Gibbs.

After Orders.

The Officers Commanding Companies will read the orders of the preceding Day every Morning on their respective parades to their Men. As likewise the Officers Commanding Piquets, that whole Divisions may be acquainted with them & have no plea for their Non-performance.

Brigade Orders.

1 Capt., 3 Subalterns, 3 Serg'ts, 3 Corporals & 50 Rank & file to parade at 4 o'Clock this Afternoon. The Captain is to wait on General Woodford for his orders. The Officers are desired to pay particular attention to the Orders respecting their Men firing at Retreat Beating. The whole Brigade are to be upon their Arms in their Tents & quarters & not undress themselves that they may be ready to parade at the shortest Warning.

CAMP BOUND BROOK, May 21st, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

One Captain, two subaterns, 4 Serg'ts, 4 Corporals & 60 rank & file to parade immediately for a Detachment. Lieut. Col. Parker[19] will command the party. As the weather is now fair, there will be no necessity for firing any of the arms as usual. The Officers will therefore take Notice that there be no discharging of Arms till further orders. All the Tents to be struck every fine Day at ten O'Clock & pitched again at 4 O'Clock. The Officers are desir'd to be Careful for the future to have all orders respecting the Men regularly read to them agreeable to Yesterday's Orders.

22d May, 1777.

R. ORDERS.

I find little regard has been paid to my Orders of the 18th. I once more Desire that the Officers of the different Companies may attend the Alarm post or parade at Reveille Beating and to keep their Men at the Manual Exercise & firing one hour.

May 22d, 1777. B. BROOK.

DIVISION ORDERS. *Parole. Countersign.*

The Officers Commanding Battallions or Detachments who have not drawn Tents will immediately make return to the Quarter Master who will furnish them with what are necessary.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

A Court of Inquiry to sit immediately & to report to Briga-

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[19] Richard Parker, lieutenant-colonel Second Virginia regiment: promoted colonel First Virginia, February 10, 1778; received 6,666⅔ acres bounty land from Virginia, June 4, 1783, for three years' service.

dier-General Woodford,[20] the nature of a Complaint Exhibited against Adjutant Vowles[21] of the 7th Virg'a Reg't by Capt. Livinsworth of Colonel Butler's Reg't. The Court to sit to-morrow at Major Day's Marke at 4 o'clock.

Captain Lipscomb,[22] President.
Two Sub's from the 7th Reg't.
Two Do. from the 11th Reg't.

The Camp Colourmen[23] of each Reg't to sweep their Encampments & bury all the Dead Carcases and other filth in and about the Camp. Six Subalterns, five Sergeants and 54 Rank and file to be warned from the 7th & 11th Virg'a Reg'ts who are to join Capt. Church's[24] Company of Colonel Johnson's Reg't, consisting of one Captain, two Subaterns & 4 Serg'ts, 36 Rank and file, who are to do the Duty of Patrols to the Brunswick, Lower Rariton and Quibble Town Piquets till further Orders & to be Excused from all other Duty.

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[20] William Woodford, born in Caroline county, Virginia, in 1735; served with distinction as lieutenant in the French and Indian war (see *ante*, p. 218); appointed colonel Second Virginia regiment in 1775; subsequently commanded the First Virginia brigade; wounded at the battle of Brandywine; at the siege of Charleston was made prisoner and taken to New York city; died there November 13, 1780. His heirs received, August 10, 1783, 10,000 acres from Virginia as bounty land for three years' service. His son, John T. Woodford, was a lieutenant-colonel in the war of 1812.

[21] Henry Vowles received 4,666⅔ acres of land bounty for services as captain-lieutenant.

[22] Captains Reuben and Bernard Lipscomb, both received bounty lands from Virginia.

[23] Six men were usually appointed for each regiment and sometimes one for each company, as camp colourmen. They marched with the quartermaster to assist in making necessary preparations against the arrival of the regiment in a new encampment. They also carried the camp colors. (*Duane's Military Dictionary.*)

[24] Captain Thomas Church (originally of Wayne's battalion), of Colonel Francis Johnston's Fifth Pennsylvania regiment, appointed January 5, 1776; promoted major Fourth Pennsylvania September, 1777; relieved from service January 1, 1781; died near Coventryville, Chester county, Pennsylvania.

General Weedon's[25] Brigade is to furnish the Same Number of Officers & Men for this Duty, which is to be done in the following manner, Two Commissioned Officers, two Sergeants, and twenty Rank and file to each of the above Piquets, to be relieved every twenty four hours.

General Weedon furnishes the Quibble Town Piquet this Evening, & the other two to be furnished from this Brigade. The Brigade Major will Consult with the Commanding Officers of the 7th & 11th Reg'ts to pitch upon the properest officers for this duty & he is to make the several Regiments allowance in the General Detail.

HEAD QUARTERS MORRIS TOWN, May 19th, 1777.

The Commander-in-Chief positively directs that all officers Stationed at out posts do not come to Morris Town, but when their Business absolutely requires it & in that Case that they return to their Posts with all expedition. Thomas Mullin, Esq'r, is appointed Brigade Major to Brig'r General De Borre,[26] and is to be respected & obeyed as such. A Number of horses having been drawn from the Quarter Master General for particular Services & not return'd when the business was perform'd—All Officers of Regiments and others in possession of horses belonging to or hir'd by the States are immediately to return them to the Quarter

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[25] George Weedon patented 236 acres near the lands of John Winston in 1694 (*Virginia Land Registry Book*, No. 2, p. 5), and John Weedon 400 acres of land in Henrico county, July 9, 1724 (No. 12, p. 12). George Weedon served as an ensign in the French and Indian war (see *ante*, p. 214). Subsequent to the Revolution he was an innkeeper and portmaster of Fredericksburg, Virginia.

[26] Peudhomme De Borre, a French officer of thirty-five years' service in Europe, claimed the post of honor on the extreme right of the line at the battle of Brandywine. General Sullivan would not yield, and by a circuitous march endeavoring to outreach De Borre was late upon the field. The latter then took the coveted position, but his brigade was the first to give way in the action. For his conduct on this occasion, and also in the expedition against Staten Island, Congress voted an inquiry. De Borre was offended and resigned his commission, which was promptly accepted.

Master General, his Deputy, or Assistants in the Districts they may be at. The General Officers are to order returns to be made of any publick horses employed in their Families that the State of the horses belonging to the Army may be known.

HEAD QUARTERS, MORRIS TOWN, May 20th, 1777.

Valentine Peers, Esq'r,[27] is appointed Brigade Major to Brigadier General Weedon & is to be respected & obeyed as such.

Lewis Woodruff, Esq'r,[28] appointed a Deputy Muster Master.

Colonels and Commanding Officers of Battallions & Corps must cause their Regimental Paymasters to make up their pay Abstracts to the 30th of April inclusive, & order them to attend at the Pay-Master General's. They must be Examined and Signed by their respective Commanding Officers and Brigadiers, who will diligently Compare them with the daily and weekly Regimental Returns & certify them. The Company Abstracts must be delivered into the Paymaster General with the Regimental Abstracts.

That the great & necessary purpose of adjusting the rank of all the Officers in [the] American Army may be effected with all Expedition, His Excellency, The Commander-in-Chief, is pleased to order that the Officers of each Continental Battallion do immediately Examine into the present rank & and hear the pretensions thereto of all the Captains & Subalterns;—settle them, when they can, to the Satisfaction of all the Gentlemen concern'd; and make a full and fair report of all their proceedings to the Brigadier Commanding their Brigade—And that the Brigadiers with the assistance of the Field Officers in their Brigade, do, upon the receipt of such reports, proceed to adjust the rank of all the officers in their separate Brigades and make a full & fair report of their proceedings to the Major General Command-

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[27] Valentine Peers received from the State of Virginia 5,333⅓ acres as bounty for three years' service as captain.

[28] Lewis Woodruff was appointed, November 28, 1776, second lieutenant of the Fourth New Jersey battalion of the Second State Establishment.

ing their Divisions, that should there be any instance of any dissatisfaction in their Officers with the determination of their Field Officers, they be candidly insinuated by each Field Officer, and parties Comparing with all their attendant Circumstances & reported to their respective Brigadiers, who call before them all the parties Interested & inquire into their Claims, and if they cannot be settled to general Satisfaction make a special & particular report to their Major General, upon receipt of which several reports at Board of Officers will take a dispassionate and comparative view of the whole & determine the Rank in the Army. Untill which time it is Expected the Service will not be Injured by disputes about Rank, but that every Officer will by an Emulous discharge of his duty recommend himself to his Country, and to the promotion he thinks himself Instilled to.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, May 24th, 1777.

GEN'L ORDERS.

The Brigadier Generals are requested to get a Return of the actual Strength of each Reg't in their respective Brigades & also the Number of Tents drawn for the use of the Regiments, their returns to be made immediately.

The Quarter-Master General is to proportion the Tents to the strength of the Reg'ts, one tent to each five privates, two tents to the Officers of each Company, one to each Field Officer, one to the Serg't Major and Quarter Master Serg't and one to Each of the Staff. Any reg't having drawn more than this proportion to deliver them to Colonel Biddle[29] Quarter-Master-General upon his application for the Same—not more than one Horseman's Tent to be allowed to Each Reg't.

CAMP AT MIDDLE BROOKE, May 26th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

The Commanding Officers of the several Reg'ts to pay particular attention to the orders of yesterday respecting the Returns

[29] Colonel Clement Biddle.

of their Men and Number of Tents. Each Regimental Quarter-Master is to have a sufficient Number of houses for camp use made immediately and they are required to be used. 1 Serg't, 1 Corp'l & 12 privates to mount immediately as a Guard at General Woodford's Quarters. The Brigade Major will not receive any Soldiers for this Guard, or any other, but what is Clean & dress'd in a Soldier-like manner. He will likewise fix on a parade for the Brigade & order a Fatigue to Clean it. One Subaltern for the future to take Charge of the Quarter Guard of the Brigade and make his report regularly to the General.

Major Ryan[30] is appointed to act as Deputy Adjutant General and is to be obeyed & respected as such until his Excellency, the Adjutant-General, or his Deputy arrives in Camp & gives Counter orders. Each Brigadier, or the Commanding officer of Brigades are requested, Eleven o'clock in the Morning to send a Brigade Major for orders at Major Ryan's quarters near the Gap of the Mountain. The Deputy Adjutant General will deliver out the Details for the Guards which are to be sent at the time & place according by the Returns ordered Yesterday to be delivered in to the Adjutant General's Office as soon as possible.

The Brigade Majors are to deliver to-morrow to the Adj't General at Eleven o'clock the names of the Brigadier Generals, the Field [officers] & Adjutants in the Brigades to which they respectively belong.

If any of the Brigadiers General are without Brigade Majors they must appoint some person to do their duty. Such Brigades [as] the Brigadiers are absent from, the Eldest Officer in the Brigade is to give the necessary orders to the Brigade. The Brigadier Commanding Officer of Brigades are to appoint Brigade Parades. The Troops for Guards are to assembled on the Brigade Parades by the Adjutants and, by the Brigade Majors march'd from thence at half past Eight o'clock. The General expects all orders to be punctually executed, the good of the Service and the safety of the Camp depending thereon. All Officers, of whatsoever Rank, are requested to govern them accordingly. A General Officer, two Field Officers & one

[30] Michael Ryan, promoted from captain Fifth Pennsylvania regiment; suspended May 19, 1778; Inspector-General of Pennsylvania 1780; resided in Alexandria, Virginia, after the war.

Brigade Major of the day to Mount every morning at Guard Mounting at the Guard parade after the Guards are sent off. The Brigade Major of the day to attend at Head quarters to deliver such orders as the occurances of the day may render necessary. Each Brigade Major of the day to appoint an Adjutant of the day for the parade. Every Brigade to furnish two orderly Sergeants, one to attend at Headquarters, and one at the Adjutant General's.

[May 26th, 1777.]

The Brigadier General of the day, to-morrow, Muhlenburg. Field Officer of the day, to morrow, Col. Hobly.[31] Brigade Major of the day, to-morrow, Major Hay.[32]

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, 27th May, 1777.

R. O.

The Officers of the Regiment are desir'd to attend to-morrow at 10 o'clock at Colonel Febiger's Bush Arbour to settle their Ranks. They are likewise to take Notice that His Excellency General Washington threaten'd to arrest the Command'r of a Regiment Yesterday for suffering fish & Bones and other Nastiness to lie about his Camp. I therefore desire that the Officers of this Regiment may exert themselves in having their Streets & their Men's Tents kept Clean & neat and to see that the Sergeants does their duty in having the Soldiers kept clean, neat & in good order, and their Arms likewise.

The Adjutant to see that the Men are Clean & their Arms in good order before he receives them from the Sergeants. That no fires be made in Camp except in the places appointed for fires, which is in rear of the Suttler's.

CAMP MILDLE BROOK, May 27th, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Major General Lincoln[33] is requested in Company at the

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[31] Adam Hubley, Jr. lieutenant colonel Tenth Pennsylvania regiment.

[32] Samuel Hay, promoted lieutenant-colonel Tenth Pennsylvania regiment, February 2, 1778.

[33] Major-General Benjamin Lincoln.

General officer of the day to examine the late & present position of the piquet Guard, fix upon the proper Ground to post them & Establish such others as may be necessary for the future Security of the Camp & fix their position by day & night. The Officer of every Guard must send a Serg't upon the Grand parade from his Guard to pilot the new Guard.[34]

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11th Reg't Officers for Guard to-morrow Captain Bruins,[35] Lieutenants Slaughter and Porterfield.[36]

CAMP M. BROOK, June 7th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

A Brigade Court Martial to sit this Morning for the Tryal of all the Prisoners in the Quarter Guard, As we expect to have a field day for the whole Division soon. He desires that the Officers of each Company in the Brigade will employ their time in having their Men's Arms clean'd in the best manner.

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[34] Following this record is a page filled with an account of blacksmith's work; of date April 25, 1778, and a memorandum by one "William Bradford—Harford county, May ye 9th, 1780, State of Maryland." Several leaves, probably, are also missing. The succeeding page commences disconnectedly, being the judgment of the Commander-in-Chief, who dissents from an acquittal by a court martial, and directs a reconsideration of the matter. A William Bradford was appointed November 28, 1776, first lieutenant in a rifle company of the regiment commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Moses Rawlings; resigned April, 1778.

[35] Peter Bryan Bruin, appointed captain Seventh Virginia regiment, December 13, 1776; promoted major; died in Claiborne county, Mississippi, January 27, 1827.

[36] Robert Porterfield, lieutenant Seventh Virginia regiment, January 1, 1777; adjutant of Colonel Daniel Morgan's Eleventh and Fifteenth Virginia regiments, incorporated as they stood from May 31, 1777, to November 30, 1778; promoted captain on the Continental establishment; received 5,221⅔ acres of land as bounty from the State for seven years and ten months' service; subsequently brigadier-general of State troops; married Mary, sister of Colonel William Heth.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 7, 1777.

GEN'L ORDERS.

As the Army is now on a permanent and honourable Footing, and as the General has the credit of it very much at heart; he expects that every Officer on whom the Importance of the Contest, and a regard to his own honour or duty are sufficiently impress'd; will lend their Aid to support the Character of it. To this end nothing can be more effectual than a close attention to Discipline and Subordination, and particularly in an exact obedience to General orders in which is the life of an Army; Officers shou'd consider that a Repetition of orders is the highest reflection on those, who are the Causes of it. An orderly Book is a Record in the hands of thousands, of the Transactions of an Army, and consequently of the disgrace of those whose Insensibility to the Obligations they are under, and whose want of a manly emulation of temper obliges the Commander-in-Chief to publish their misconduct by repeating his calls upon them to discharge their duty.

The General appeals to the understanding of every officer, and earnestly recommends a serious Consideration of these matters, their Engagement with the publick, their own honour, and the Salvation of their Country demands it. The General wishes it on these Accounts & for his own ease and satisfaction; for as nothing is more easy than to conduct an Army when a cheerful & ready obedience is paid to every order, so nothing is more difficult & embarrassing, where a careless, licentious & disorderly spirit prevails.[37]

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The above Prisoners & those mentioned in former orders to be sent for to their respective Regiments and punish'd on their Brigade parades.

HEAD QUARTERS, 7th June, 1777.

AFTER ORDERS.

The Men from each of the following Brigades, viz't, Max-

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[37] Again a break in the record—a leaf apparently missing.

well's, Muhlenburg's,[38] Weedon's, Woodford's, Scott's,[39] Conway's,[40] to parade to-morrow Morning at Guard Mounting at the Quarter-Master-General's Quarters as a Guard for some Cattle. The party to be commanded by a subaltern officer and relieved daily till further orders—the officer to be furnish'd from the diff't Brigades beginning with Maxwell's.

11th Reg't officers for Guard to-morrow Lieut's Harrison[41] & Ransadale.[42] Major General for to-morrow Green[e].[43] Field Officers, Col. Ogden[44] & Lt. Col. Sears.[45] Brigade Major, Peers.

HEADQUARTERS M. BROOK, June 8th, 1777.

A Detachment of 3 Captains, 6 Sub's, 9 Serg'ts & 150 privates to parade to morrow Morning at 6 o'clock at General Weedon's parade with 4 days provisions * * * * * is to command this party and receive his orders from Major General Greene.

By Intelligence from different quarters there is much reason to believe the Enemy are on the Eve of some important Operation; this makes it absolutely necessary that the whole Army should hold themselves in readiness to move at a moment's warning & that purpose they are always to be furnish'd with three days provision ready Cook'd. Officers to take care that their Men carry their own packs and to suffer none but Invalids to put their packs or Arms into Waggons.

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[38] John Peter Gabriel Muhlenburg, promoted major-general; born October 1, 1746; died October 1, 1807.

[39] General Charles Scott, from Virginia.

[40] Thomas Count de Conway, promoted major-general.

[41] James Harrison, of Colonel Daniel Morgan's regiment.

[42] Thomas Ransadell or Ransdell, appointed lieutenant Seventh Virginia regiment, July 1, 1777.

[43] General Nathaniel Greene.

[44] Colonel Matthias Ogden, of New Jersey.

[45] John Sears, lieutenant-colonel of Virginia on Continental Establishment, received 6,000 acres bounty land from Virginia, September 4, 1790, for three year's service.

The Quarter Master General to Settle with the Brigadiers the proper allowance of Waggons for their respective Brigades and to furnish them, or make any deficiency immediately.

All Arms deliver'd, out of the Publick Stores, or purchased by Officers for the use of the Continent, to be branded, without loss of time, agreeable to former Orders. For the future none but printed Furloughs to be given to Soldiers. Any Soldier absent from his Corps, with only a written Furlough, will be be taken up, and his Furlough deemed a Forgery. This to be advertised in the publick papers of each State.

A Return to be made to-morrow of the Chaplains of each Brigade, Specifying where they are.

HEAD QUARTERS, 8th June.

AFTER ORDERS. *6 o'clock.*

Those Riflemen returned to the Adjutant General agreeable to the General Order of the 21st Inst. are to parade to-morrow morning at 6 o'clock on the Grand Parade. The Brigadiers of the different Brigades to which these Men respectively belong, to see that they have good rifles to be supplied (if their own shou'd not be good) from those who remain and don't answer the Description of the General Order above referred to.

MORGAN CONNER, *Adj't Gen'l.*[46]

MIDDLE BROOK, June 9th, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Commander-in-Chief is pleased to approve the following Sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 6th Inst., and orders them to be put in Execution forthwith—the Delinquents

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[46] Morgan Conner entered the service in 1776 as lieutenant in Captain George Nagel's company in Colonel William Thompson's regiment; appointed brigade major to General John Armstrong, with rank of major; succeeded Wilkinson as lieutenant-colonel in 1777; he claimed rank, in 1779, as lieutenant-colonel Eleventh Pennsylvania regiment; subsequently made lieutenant-colonel Seventh Pennsylvania; said to have been lost at sea. His estate was administered on in 1782.

to be immediately taken out of the Guard house and punished at the Brigade Parades to which they respectively belong, viz't: William Nicholson of the 15th Virg'a Reg't, Charged with desertion, to receive 25 Lashes. Markham Hill of 15th Virg'a Reg't, Charged with Desertion, to receive 25 Lashes. John King of the first New Jersey Reg't, charged with desertion, to receive 50 Lashes. Thomas Banks of the 15th Virg'a Reg't, Charged with Desertion, to receive 20 Lashes. Anthony Payne of the 15th Virg'a Reg't, Charged with desertion, to receive 20 Lashes. John Lowry of the 9th Virg'a Reg't, Charged with damning the General & his orders, to receive 39 Lashes. James Dougherty of the 3d New Jersey Reg't, Charged with deserting, to receive 100 Lashes. Daniel Henly of the 3d Virginia Regim't, Charg'd with deserting from his own Reg't & Enlisting into another, to receive 25 Lashes. Samuel Mason of the said Regiment, Charg'd with the same, to receive 20 Lashes. John Bybecker of the German Battallion,[47] Charg'd with Deserting & Enlisting into Another Reg't, the Sentence postponed for further Evidence.

The Duty of the Major General of the day to begin with the mounting of the Guard one day and to End at the same time the next. The Commanding Officer of each Corps to keep the Ammunition Account with their Men & make them pay for all that is wantonly wasted.

Captains of Companys to keep a List of their Men's Cloths and have them critically examined every Saturday. A Soldier shall not presume to sell any part of his Cloaths on any pretence whatsoever—the prisoners under Sentence of Death to prepare for Execution.[48] * * * * *

The movements of this army either for offensive or Defensive measures will be sudden, whenever they do happen, consequently no time can be allowed to draw or cook provisions. It may not be amiss, therefore, to remind the officers of the necessity of having their Men provided agreeable to an order of the 8th inst. and the Commissary is desir'd, if possible, to furnish Bak'd and

[47]A German Battalion was raised agreeably to a resolution of Congress, May 25, 1776, composed of four companies from Pennsylvania, four from Maryland, to which was added a ninth, July 9, 1777. Lodowick Weltner was commissioned lieutenant-colonel August 9, 1777.

[48]Again a missing leaf.

Salt Provisions for this purpose which the Men may keep by them, and continue to draw their usual allowance. It has been so often and so pressingly recommended to officers to have no unnecessary baggage with them, it is hoped the Army is entirely unencumbered with it, but if the case should be otherwise the General desires that the Brigadiers will have it immediately removed.

The Adjutant General will direct to what place. After this Notice Officers are not to be Surpriz'd if heavy Boxes, Great Chests, Bedsteads, &c. are left behind in the Field. A very small Escort from the whole Line will be necessary to Guard the Baggage sent off pursuant to this order, and to be composed of the most indifferent Men, put under the command of a Careful Officer.

The General is informed that great Complaints are made by the Inhabitants nearest the Enemies' Lines of Soldiers taking away their horses and other property, and that in many Instances they are Countenanced by the Officers under the Idea of the Inhabitants being Tories. The General expressly orders a stop to be put to such practices, or those who are Convicted of them will be brought to exemplary punishment.

Such Inhabitants as are proper Objects of punishment will be dealt with in a legal way. But no Officer or Soldier is to judge for himself & appropriate their property to their own use or to seize it without proper orders.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the following sentences of a Court Martial held the 7th Inst. of which Colonel Thomas Marshall of the 3rd Virg'a reg't was President. Lieut. Kirtley of the 8th V. R. Charg'd with disobedience of orders & absenting himself three Months beyond the time allotted him to join his Reg't, found not guilty of being absent from his Reg't beyond the time allotted him but guilty of disobedience of orders, sentenced to be discharged from the Service. Lieutenant Tully Robinson,[49] of the 4th Virg'a Reg't Charg'd with absenting himself from his Reg't without leave, found guilty of the Charge, Sentenced to be discharged from the Service and to for-

[49] Tully Robinson, Captain of State Line of Virginia, received 4,000 acres as bounty for three years' service, June 7, 1832.

feit his pay from the 30th December last till he join'd the Reg't again. Lieut. Ford of the 4th Virg'a Reg't Charg'd with disobedience of orders in the instance of firing a Gun without proper permission in Camp, Sentenced to receive a Reprimand by the Commanding Officer of the said reg't in the presence of the Officers of the same. John Smith of the 7th Pennsylv'a Reg't, formerly in the 6th, Charg'd with inlisting into the 9th pens'a Reg't without a discharge from the 7th, sentenced to receive 25 Lashes on his bare back, and the Bounty of twenty Dollars which he rec'd from the 9th to be stopped out of his pay. Peter Burney of the 13th new Jersey reg't, Charg'd with desertion, Sentenced to be discharged. William Shaddock of the 9th Pens'a reg't try'd by the same Court Martial the 2nd of June for desertion omitted in former orders, sentenced to receive 25 Lashes on his bare Back. The Picquet Guards are to assemble in the Rear of the Artillery Park at Guard Mounting, this place to be considered as the Grand parade till further orders.

HEAD QUARTERS, June 10th.

AFTER ORDERS.

A fatigue of one hundred Men with a proportion of —— to parade to-morrow 6 o'clock at the Quarter-Master-Generals to Take their Orders from Major G'l Green. Major Gen'l Green's Division to practice this afternoon with actual firing 3 o'clock in ye afternoon.

CAMP M. BROOK, June 4th, 1777.

REG'L ORDERS.

The Commanding Officers of the different Companies are desir'd to examine the State of the Arms, Ammunition & Accoutrements of their respective Companies and make an immediate return to the Quarter-Master of what are wanting to complete & what are wanting repair.

Many of the Officers having paid proper attention to General Orders respecting the lessening of the Baggage, it is expected they will now make an Examination into their Companies on

that head & have all that is unnecessary Collected that it may be transported when the Adj't General may direct agreeable to the General Orders of yesterday.

This the Commanding Officer once more & for the last time requests an immediate compliance as he wou'd be sorry to see any of the property of the Soldiery left in the Field upon a sudden encampment which must be the case, if these Orders are not attended to.

In future when provision returns are made out it will be expected the officers will Examine them before they are deliver'd in the Sick under the immediate care of the Doctor to be particularized. After this the Commanding Officer hopes not to find the provision Returns & the other Returns disagree.

HEAD QUARTERS, CAMP MIDDLE BROOK.

June 11th, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

The Commissary General to deliver no rum for Guards or Fatigue Service but in following manner: a Jill ℔ Man to all out Guards and Picquets the order for it to come from Brigadier of the day—the same allowance for all Fatigue parties, Either from the Line, Division or Brigade, the orders for it in the first instance to come from the Major General of the Day, in the Second from the Major General of the Division, in the 3d from the Brigadier of the Brigade. All Detachments & Scouting parties to have a Jill ℔ Man for Every night they are out. The Major General of the Day to give the Orders for it. A Jill to all fatigue parties, in the Commissary or Qr. Master General's departments; the order to come from the principal officer present of the departments.

No other Guards or fatigue to have any allowance of rum, the Rum for Guards not to be Issued till the Duty is done. All Stragling or Suspected persons taken up to be brought before the Major General of the day.

All Guards or Detachments going towards the Enemy or coming from them to march in the same order, as if they expected an immediate attack—for this purpose the Officers to be at

their proper post, and the men to move with regularity; advanced rear & flank guards to be sent out in proportion to the strength of the Party, and at a greater or lesser distance according to the nature of the Ground.

As in advancing towards an Enemy, or coming from them is danger of surprize and attack. Precautions should be always taken to be prepared for them and were not this the Case, good Habits will be introduced by acting in this manner when there is little or no occasion which will be Serviceable when there is, and both Officers & Men will be taught their Duty.

All Stragling Sutlers immediately to quit the Camp or their Liquors, &c. will be taken from them & distributed among the Soldiers without any Compensation. Each Brigadier to notify those about his Camp with this Order. General Lincoln has permission to clean loaded Pieces of his Division by discharging them this Evening at Retreat.

All Regimental Paymasters are to attend the paymaster General at his Quarters on Friday at 10 o'clock. Colonel De la Laviere[50] is appointed to the Command of the Corps, heretofore under Major Ottendorf.[51] The Commanding Officer of each Corps is to report every Deserter from it immediately to his Brigadier who is to pursue without loss of time the most vigorous measures to have the Offenders apprehended and to give an Account of the matter to the Major General of the Day, who is to draw the whole into one view in his report of occurences to the Commander-in-Chief, Strict attention is expected will be paid to this order.

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[50] De la Raddiere appointed Colonel of Engineers, July 8, 1777; died in service.

[51] Nicholas Dietrich, Baron de Ottendorff, a nobleman from Lusatia, Saxony, had served in the "Seven Years' War" as a lieutenant under Frederick the Great. Upon the close of that war he went to Paris, where he associated with Kosciuszko and Roman de Lisle. At the breaking out of the Revolution the three came to America, Koskiuszke entered the staff of General Washington, De Lisle was made captain of artillery and Ottendorff, at the request of Washington, was appointed a brevet captain. On December 5, 1776, Congress directed Captain Ottendorff to raise an independant corps, he raised three companies in Philadelphia and took command of them with the rank of major. The corps was subsequently merged into Armand's Legion.

The order some time ago given at Morris Town forbidding Waggoners to gallop; and strain horses is little attended to. The Qr. Master Gen'l therefore will inform those people of the Consequences of disobedience.

The Brigadier Majors are to meet the Adjutant General precisely at six o'clock this afternoon at his Tent. The Guard for the Commissary's Cattle is to be furnish'd by rotation by the different Brigades and to reliev'd every three days. General Muhlenburg's Brigade will furnish it to-day, the Men to carry three days Provision with them.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 12th, 1777.

REG'L ORDERS.

Notwithstanding orders have been many days issued desiring an Orderly Sergeant to be appointed to each Company, The officers commanding Companies have not paid the smallest regard to them. The orders are again repeated, with a positive declaration that any Officer disobeying this, or any General, Division, Brigade, or Regimental order, shall be immediately arrested, and Sergeants not doing their duty will be Confin'd. The Orderly Sergeant is to wait upon the Officers of his Comany immediately after he receives them & to read the Regimental orders to their Company every Evening before they march them to the Regimental parade, other orders will be read to the Reg't when drawn up.

If the Officers had attentively perused the General Orders Issued since His Excellency arriv'd in Camp, The Commanding Officer wou'd not now be under the disagreeable necessity of speaking in a Style he wou'd most sincerely wish to avoid.

An Orderly Serg't from each Company will attend immediately on the Quarter Master & receive a proportion of Screw Drivers & Worms, also Canteens, if any Shou'd be wanting.

HEAD QUARTERS, June 12th, 1777.

G. O.

The General thinks it proper to Establish the following Regulations for Guards, and hopes that Officers will consider them

as the Rule of Practice, and make themselves well acquainted with them. When any Guards arrive at the Posts assign'd them the Officer's first Care is to plant his Centinels properly according to Circumstances. The Guards shou'd remain under Arms while this [is] doing, and if it be at an out post near the Enemy, temporary Sentries shou'd be placed at a small distance near the Guard to prevent Surprize, while the Commanding Officer reconnoiters the Ground, to know where the Centries are to be posted for a continuance, this to be done in Case the ground has not beforehand been examined and particular Instructions given or in case he does not relieve some other Guards, but if he does relieve another, he is to receive all the orders given to the Officers of the Old Guard in Waiting; which together with those he receives from the Brigadier & Field Officer of the Day, he is punctually to observe, if any difference arise between them, he is to obey the latter in preference & immediately to send a Party under a Trusty Officer, conducted by an Officer of the Old Guard, to relieve the Sentries thereof, who is to return to the Old Guard. If the Guard be of such a nature as that other matters other than the Security of the Post are intrusted to it they must be contain'd in a written report, and an Officer of the New, to be accompanied by one of the Old must be sent to take them in Charge, compairing the things themselves with the report and see that all is right.

The Sentries of the Old Guard having joined it, they are to march it back from whence it came with the greatest Order & decorum and then send off the Detachments Composing it under proper Officers to Each to join their Corps, preserving regularity on the way. After placing his Sentries the Officer of the new Guard is to make his Men lodge their Arms in such a manner that Each Man may have recourse to his in a moment without battle & confusion. In most cases it is best the Arms shou'd be grounded on the Guard parade during the day, no Man to put off his accoutrements on any pretence whatever. This done, the Comd'g Officer accompanied by a Couple of Men is to visit all the Sentries to see that they are posted right & instruct them in the Line of their Duty. His next care is to take such precautions for the security of his post by forming abetties & raising parapets as Circumstances require to guard against any surprize

or repel any sudden attempt. He should make himself acquainted not only with all the great Roads leading to the Enemy, or the Army he belongs to, but shou'd search out Every by-path and advance by which he may more securely send his parties to reconnoiter the Enemy or make his retreat good on any Emergency. He shou'd have scouting parties all day and Parole going all night towards the Enemy in his rear & upon his flanks to gain intelligence of their motions and give timely notice of any attempt that may be making. If this notice can be done without firing the Scouts or patrols to retreat by way of the Sentries to alarm them. Visiting Rounds shou'd be going all night to see that the Sentries are all the Posts, alert & acquainted with every particular of their duty. The break of day are the most favorable time for an attack or surprize. A good Officer will be careful to turn out his Guard under Arms till an hour after Sunrise, and to have his visiting Rounds & Patrols going these more than ordinary; from watching through the night Men towards morning grow drowsy and careless and are more likely to surprize. An Officer's reputation calls upon him to guard carefully against this Evil. A guard is bound to maintain its posts as long as possible, but if likely to be overpowered by numbers, it is at least to make a Skirmishing retreat, firing all the way it goes to give the alarm, taking advantage of Every Defile, morass, wood or advantageous spot it can find to delay the Enemy. If the Enemy does not pursue but retire after dislodged, the guard is to resume its posts, first taking measure to be sure all is safe. If two Guards are so posted as to have the same Object in view and depend upon each other, they must be attentive to every thing that befalls one another & act in concert if either is attacked; the other must not only put itself in a posture of defence but must keep patrols constantly going to bring intelligence of what is doing. If the one attacked retreats the other must also. If it returns the other must return. All these things however to depend upon Circumstances and the orders of the Brigadier & Field Officers of the Day. Any Party of whatsoever kind coming towards an Outguard are to be stop'd by the Out Sentries and Notice given to the Guard, which is in most cases to turn out & the Officer to Send a proper person to examine such party & give his orders accordingly. All Flags to be stopped at the Out-Sentries. The

Officer of the Guard is to meet them there and to know their business. If they are Charged with Letters or any matter that can be Communicated to him he is to receive and transmit them immediately to the Major Gen'l of the day, otherwise the Flag must wait till Information can be sent to the said Major General, and his order received. No Officer or Soldier is to Sleep one Moment on Guard; no Cooking to go on while on Guard; the Men must either carry their provisions ready cook'd or have it sent to them—the former preferable. No Man to presume to be out of call without permission from the Officer, who is not to suffer more than two to be absent at a time, nor these at an Out-post. In Case of desertion from the out-posts the Officer from whose party it happens is immediately to Change the Countersign, advertising the other out-guards of it, who are to conform thereto. He is therefore to Send immediately to inform the Brigadier of the day of it. All Guards to turn out to the Brigadier & Field Officers of the day, and except the Out-guards, to turn out to all General Officers, paying them the honors due them according to their rank & usage of War. The out-guards to turn out to the Brigadiers & Field Officers of day only, the honours of the drum never to be paid by them; all guards to turn out to the Grand Rounds, the officer of each to prepare an Evening report to the Officer of the Rounds; all Guards of the Line when reliev'd to make a report of every occurrence that may have happen'd to one of the Field Officers, who is to attend at or near the Grand Parade to receive it when the Guard returns. Arms after this wet weather to be carefully inspected and put in the best order.

Camp M. Brook, June 13th, 1777.

Reg'l Orders.

An immediate return of the Strength of each Company now in Camp to be made to the Quarter Master that the tents may be Proportion'd—at the same time a return of Cloaths wanting will be expected; care to be observed by the Commanding Officer of each Company that there are none drawn but those who are really in want as they must sign the Returns & will be answera-

ble for every article rec'd. The Orderly Sergeants must examine the Tents of their respective Companies & if any Straw shou'd be wanting they will mention it when they deliver their returns. The Quarter-Master has one Day's provisions on hand which must be drawn & cook'd up immediately.

W[ILLIAM] H[ETH.]

HEAD QUARTERS, MIDDLE BROOK,
June 17th, 1777.

G. O. *Parole. C. Sign.*

Major General for to-morrow, Stephens.[52] Brigadier-General for to-morrow, Maxwell.[53] Field Officers, Col. Arendtt[54] & Major Morrell.[55] Brigade Major, Swain.

At a General Court Martial held the 9th inst. whereof Col. Marshall was President, Capt. Jesse Roe[56] was tried for insulting & ill-treating Mr. Colclough, Conductor of Wagons, on the March from Morristown. Acquitted and Justified by the Court. The General approves the sentence and orders Capt. Roe to be releas'd from his Arrest with Honour; he also approves the Sentence of the said Court Martial held the 11th Inst. before which Alex'r Brandon of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment was tried for horse Stealing & acquited; the prisoner to be immediately released from his Confinement. Different Modes of promotion having prevail'd in the Army conductive of Confusion & Discontent in many Instances, the Commander-in-Chief thinks it necessary to establish the following General Rules to prevent all further disputes and inconveniences on this head, all Commissioned Officers to rise regimentally according to Seniority until they arrive

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[52] Adam Stephen.

[53] William Maxwell.

[54] Baron d'Arendt, a colonel in the Continental service, appointed March 19, 1777, to the command of the German battalion; superseded Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith in the command of Fort Mifflin in October, 1777, but from illness was compelled soon to relinquish it to Colonel Smith.

[55] Major Thomas Morrell of the Fourth New Jersey battalion.

[56] Jesse Roe appointed February 3, 1777, captain of the artillery artificers of Colonel Benjamin Flower's Pennsylvania regiment.

to the rank of Captain and from that in the Line of the State they belong to by seniority also till they attain the rank of Colonel. This Rule, however, to admit of Exceptions where particular Officers signalize themselves by Conduct of extraordinary merit or where others prove themselves unworthy of preferment by the want or neglect of cultivating any qualification requisite to Constitute the good officer. Ten Men fit for the purpose from each Brigade to parade this Evening at 6 o'clock at Col. Biddle's Quarters to form a Company of Pioneers. He is to provide them with a sufficient number of proper Officers & every thing necessary to qualify them for doing their Duty immediately.

In case of March of the Army they are to Encamp near his Quarters. The following men: Thomas Backus, Samuel Brown, Joseph Catlett, Isaac Green, Charles Cleer, Labor Camber, William Caldwell, Joseph Gadington & William Thomas belonging to Captain Wattel's Company having been sent to Camp some time ago and annext to some of the Corps. The Officer Commanding the Corps in which these Men or any of them are now doing duty are Desir'd to send a Return of them to the Adjutant General to-morrow Morning.

HEAD QUARTERS, 13th June, 1777.

AFTER ORDERS.

Such Rifles as belong to the States in the different Brigades to be immediately Exchang'd with Col. Morgan for Muskets. General Officers Commanding Brigades are desir'd to pay attention to this matter as the nature of this matter requires the utmost dispatch. If a sufficient number of rifles, publick property are not to be procured, the Brigadiers are requested to assist Colonel Morgan Either by Exchanging those that are private property or by purchasing them.

N. B. Those Brigades who have not furnish'd Col. Morgan with the number of Men return'd to the Adjutant General are desir'd to send them immediately.

CAMP M. BROOK, June 13th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

Major Gen'l Stephens has been pleased to order that there be a Field day of his Division on Sunday at 2 o'clock in the Afternoon. The General hopes that every Officer will make a point of having his Men in the best order upon this occasion both as to their Cloaths & Arms, & that every Non Commission'd Officer & private Soldier will consider his own Reputation as well as that of the Brigade to be concern'd in his Conduct upon that day, where we shall be probably honoured with the attendance of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and all the the General Officers in Camp. As there has been permission for a General Discharge of Arms yesterday and positive Orders to have them well Clean'd, no Excuse will be admitted for those who have them in order.

The Artillery of the Brigade are likewise to prepare everything for their attendance. The Commanding Officer of Each Reg't will have timely Notice where to apply for blank Cartridges for their Men.

HEAD QUARTERS, 15th June, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS. *Parole. C. Sign.*

Major General for to-morrow, Sterling.[57] Brigadier General for to-morrow, Woodford. Field Officers Col. Spotswood, Major Crawford.

As it is proper the mode of performing & receiving the Grand Rounds be the same throughout the Army as well for the Sake of Security as uniformity and order. In future the following is that which is to be pursued. The Field Officer of the Grand Rounds before he begins his visits to procure such an Escort as he Chuses not exceeding a Serg't and Six [men], accompanied by these he is to pass all Sentries remote from the Guards by his Serg't who is to advance for the purpose answering Grand Rounds when hail'd & giving the Countersign when he arrives near the Guard the Sentry next to it hails, and upon

[57] William Alexander, Lord Stirling.

being answer'd "*Grand Rounds*," Cries "Stand Grand Rounds" and call the Guard to turn out. When this is done the Officer of the Guard sends a Commission'd officer (if the Guard consists of more than one) if not a Serg't and six to meet the Rounds, who when arriv'd within twelve paces of them Challenges & on being answer'd "Grand Rounds" Cries "Advance Officer with the Parole," at the same time making his Party open a passage by wheeling backward from the Centre, for the Officer of the Rounds to pass through them and resting their Firelocks as he passes, the Officer or Serg't conducts him to the Officer of the Guard who receives him at the right of his Guard with his Bayonet towards his Breast at which time the Officer of the Rounds whispers the parole in his Ear, the Officer of the Guard finding the Parole true, orders his Guard to rest their Firelocks upon which the Officer of the Rounds goes along the front of the Guard and after Counting them, asking such Questions and giving such Instructions as he thinks proper. Complaints having been made to the Commander-in-Chief that some Officers fond of any pretext to get out of the way of their duty Obtrude themselves upon the Hospital without answering any useful End but rather striving to Embarress & take up the room that might be better employ'd. He orders that not more than one Officer attend any Hospital unless from application of one of the Directors or Physicians and Surgeons General of the Army and that Officer to be a discreet, sensible Man, whose business shall be to observe the treatment of the Sick & report any neglect or mismanagement he may discover. He is also to assist in supporting good order among the Soldiers but is to Exercise no Authority inconsistent with that perfect Controul the Doctors shou'd have over their Patients. All Supernumerary Officers immediately to repair to their respective Corps.

CAMP AT MIDDLE BROOK, June 15th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

The several Regiments to draw provision immediately to compleat their Men to three days exclusive of this, which is to be Cook'd agreeable to General Orders; and the Commanding

Officer of the Reg'ts will see that this is continued without the order being repeated, so that the Brigade may be always three days before hand with cook'd provision. The Regiments will be attended on Wednesday and friday Mornings by their Chaplains on their own regimental parades. The seventh Reg't having no Chaplain will join with the 15th Reg't and on Sunday the whole to attend on the right of the Brigade as usual & the Chaplains to take it by turn to preach.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 16th, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow Stephens. Brigadier General for to-morrow Conway. Field Officers Col. Wood[58] & Major Beauford.[59] Brigade Major, Tarling.

The General Court Martial held on the 13th Inst. having reconsider'd their proceedings of the 3d and being still of their former opinion for acquitting Lieut. Myers of the German Battallion. The General directs that he be acquitted & releas'd from the Guard.

The Commanding Officer nearest any Hospital is to furnish a prudent, good Officer to assist in the Governmentry so far as relates to the keeping of the Continental Soldiers in order, having proper Guards and the like, And to see that Justice is done the Sick, reporting any neglect or abuse they may observe; first to the Chief Director of the Hospital, and then, if not reme-

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[58] James Wood, son of Colonel James Wood, founder of Winchester, Virginia; member of the Virginia Convention of June, 1776, from Frederick county; appointed colonel November 15, 1776; Governor of Virginia in 1796; died in Richmond, Virginia, June 16, 1813. Wood county, Virginia, was named in his honor.

[59] Abraham Buford, promoted colonel and assigned to the command of Morgan's Eleventh Virginia regiment, May 16, 1778; May 29, 1780, his command was surprised and massacred by Colonel Tarleton at Waxhaw creek; died in Scott county, Kentucky, June 29, 1833; received 8,611 acres of land as bounty from the State of Virginia for seven years and ten months' service.

died, to the Commanding Officer of the Post from which he was sent, who, if he thinks the representations just, to communicate them to the Commander-in-Chief.

The Army not to omit exercising every day, as heretofore practiced ; a thing so essential is never to be neglected, unless in such Circumstances as render it impossible.

All parties whatsoever from thirty upwards march'g under Arms to march by Sub. or Grand Divisions unless when the nature of the Ground, or any particular disposition makes a different mode necessary. The Officers to be very attentive that their Men keep their ranks always dressed, & use their feet in Concert which are equally Conducive to the Order, Beauty, Strength & expedition of a marching Body.

For the sake of regularity till a more eligible mode shall be pointed out, Officers are to salute in the following manner only—

For a Standing Salute they are to order their fuzees and take off their Hats gracefully, bringing the Arm down closely to the left Side, untill the person saluted passes. For a marching Salute they are to trail their fuzees & take off their hats as in the foregoing, in both cases it is supposed they have their Fuzees rested on their left Arm, from which they perform the order or trail the first in three, & the last in two Motions and afterwards return their Fuzees to the same Position—In the order they hold out their Fuzees in a Line with themselves with an easy extended Arm.

All regimental paymasters are desir'd immediately to join their respective Corps or they may depend on being punish'd & displac'd. No Excuse but Sickness & that properly certified will be admitted for eluding this order. No Regimental Paymaster in future to absent himself from Camp on any pretence whatever without leave from the Commander-in Chief.

HEAD QUARTERS, June 17th, 1777.

G. O. *Parole. C. Sign.*

Major General for to-morrow, Greene. Brigadier General for to-morrow, Maxwell. Field Officers, Col. McClanahan &

Lt. Col. Barber.[60] Do. for Baggage Guard, Lt. Col. Pray. For Brigadier Major, Weatherspoon.

The Surgeon General is to give papers to all persons in his Department.

Two Officers from those Regiments who have Sick in the Hospital nigh Camp to attend the Same for the purpose pointed out in the Order of Yesterday. A Orderly Serg't to be appointed to Each Company to take a List every Morning of the Sick belonging to it & report them to the regimental Officer of the day, who is to make a General Report to the Sergeon of the Regiment. The Orderly Serg'ts to attend the Surgeon, distribute the medicines & do every thing necessary according to his Orders. A proportionate Number of Women to the Sick of Each regim't to be Sent to the Hospital at Mendham & Black River, to attend the Sick as Nurses.

When Ever prisoners are sent to the Provost the Evidence against them to be inserted in the Charge which will save much unnecessary trouble & delay.

The General Court Martial whereof Col. Marshall was President is dissolved & another General Court Martial to sit to-morrow morning 9 O'clock at the usual place (Gen'l Waynes' Brigade) to try such prisoners as shall be brought before them—all evidences to attend. Colonel Stephens is appointed President of the Court.

HEAD QUARTERS, June 18th, 1777.

G. O.

Timothy Pickering, Esq're is appointed Adjutant General to the Continental Army. He is to be obeyed & respected as

[60] Francis Barber appointed major third New Jersey battalion February 9, 1776; promoted lieutenant colonel of the second establishment, November 28, 1776; lieutenant-colonel Third New Jersey regiment from June 1, 1777; and commandant to January 6, 1783; killed by the falling of a tree in camp at New Windsor, New York February 11, 1783; served as sub-inspector on the staff of General Steuben April 1, 1778; adjutant-general to Lord Stirling; aid to General Sullivan; deputy adjutant-general to General Green; severally wounded at the battles of Monmouth, and wounded at the battles of Newtown and at the seige of Yorktown.

such. The General begs Col. Connor to accept this Thanks for his Obliging & punctual discharge of the Office for the Time he acted in it.

HEAD QUAR'S M. BROOK, June 19th, 1777.

G. O.

Major Gen'l for to-morrow, Stephens. Brigadier General for to-morrow, Woodford. Field Officers, Col. Malmadie and Major Heth. Brigade Maj'r, Tarling.

The Quarter Master of each Reg't is to draw provision for such sick as remain with the regim't for which purpose they are to be included and their Numbers ascertained in each Provision Return the Commissary will supply them with fresh meat when on hand.

The General Court Martial now Sitting will proceed forthwith to the Trial of Major Peers, Brigade Major to General Weedon, arrested by order of Colonel Spotswood for refusing a true & just return of his Regiment, and sending him an insulting message by his Adjutant, all Witnesses to attend.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 20th, 1777.

GEN'L ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow, Green. Brigadier-General for to-morrow, Conway. Field Officers, Col. Dayton[61] and Major Davis. Brigade Major, Witherspoon.

General Wayne's Brigade is to practise with actual firing this afternoon at 4 o'C. Each Captain or Commanding Officer of a Company is to make out an immediate Sign'd Roll of his Company according to which his Men are ever to be drawn up & when formed in two Ranks, the shortest Men are ever to be plac'd in the front, by which means the firing will be rendered rapid & the effect more certain. The Commander-in-Chief approves the following Sentences of a General Court Martial, held the 18th & 19th Inst's, when Col. Stevens[62] was President, &

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[61] Colonel Elias Dayton, of New Jersey; promoted brigadier-general.

[62] Colonel Ebenzer Stevens of the New York artillery regiment.

orders them to be put in execution forthwith, viz: William Butler of Col. Thos. Hartley's[63] Reg't & Capt. Wm. Nichol's Company, charg'd with desertion & forging paper, found guilty of the charge & sentenced to receive one Hundred lashes on his bare back. Rich'd Henley of the 7th Pen'a Reg't charg'd with desertion, found guilty of the charge & sentenced to receive 100 lashes on his Bare back, well laid on. Alex'r McDonald of the 6th Penn'a reg't, charg'd with desertion, found guilty and sentenced to receive 100 lashes on his bare back, & to be sent on board one of the Continental frigates to serve during the War. Lieut. Booker of the 10th Va. Reg't charged with attending the Parade drunk, found guilty of the charge & sentenced to be repremanded by the Colo. of the Reg't he belongs to in the presence of the Officers.

Ensign Pope of the 10th Pa. Reg't charg'd with not attending his duty on parade acquitted & ordered to be forthwith discharged from his arrest.

John Rawling of Colo. Patterson's reg't Charg'd with deserting & going to the Enemy found guilty of deserting & Sentenc'd to receive 100 lashes on his bare back & to be sent on board one of the Continental Frigates & to serve during the term of his enlistment.

Michael Reynolds of the 5th Pen's Reg't charg'd for deserting towards the Enemy found guily and sentenc'd to rec'e 100 lashes on his bare back, well laid on & to be sent on board one of the Continental Frigates to Serve during the term of his enlistment.

William Pannell of Capt. Govan's Com'd in the 4th Pens'a Reg't charg'd with deserting from his reg't and endeavoring to go to the Enemy, found guilty and sentenc'd to rec'e 100 lashes on his bare back.

Alex'r McDonald, John Rawling & Michael Reynolds who are sentenc'd to be put on board some of the Continental Frigates, are after rec'g their punishments still to be detain'd prisoners by the Provost Martial till further Orders.

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[63] Colonel Thomas Hartley, born near Reading, Pennsylvania, September 7, 1748; removed to York in 1766 and admitted to the bar July 25, 1769; appointed lieutenant-colonel Sixth Pennsylvania battalion January 10, 1776; colonel, January 11, 1777, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania; died at York, Pennsylvania, December 21, 1800.

B. ORDERS.

A Court Martial to sit this morning for the trial of all the prisoners in the Quarter Guard. The Officer of that Guard is desir'd to make his report regularly to the General after he is releav'd, that he keeps his guard from stragling and that he does not leave it himself upon any pretence but to be always ready to turn out to any Gen'l Officer that may happen to pass that way.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 21, 1777.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow Lord Stirling. Brigadier General for to-morrow Muhlenburg. Field Officers Colo. Martin & Lt. Col. D'Hart.[64] Brigade Major, Day.[65]

Colo. Shelburn's Detachment at present w'th Gen'l Parsons[66] is to Join Gen'l Varnum's[67] Brigade. Gen'l De Borre's Brigade to get ready to march to-morrow morning at 5 O'C.—he will send to the Adj't Gen'l for orders to march. Gen'l Varnum's Brigade to relieve the picquets at Whannest's Mill & Vanvartin's Bridge at 4 O'C.

D. ORDERS.

The Reg't Quarter Master with the Camp-le-Men to preserve Neets fut & to make an Oil for the Musket Locks of the Corps. The Officers Commanding Companies will take notice that no excuse will be admitted for not having the Arms in the best order. They will be arrested & prosecuted with all the vigour which the regulation of the Army will admit.

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[64] William D'Hart, appointed major of First New Jersey Battalion of First Establishment, November 7, 1775; major First Battalion of Second Establishment, November 28, 1776; promoted lieutenant-colonel January 1, 1777; lieutenant-colonel of Second Battalion, September 26, 1780; resigned.

[65] Benjamin Day, adjutant Second Virginia regiment; after the war practiced law in Fredericksburg, Virginia; Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Masons of Virginia, 1797–1800; died 1821.

[66] Samuel Holden Parsons promoted major-General.

[67] James Mitchell Varnum.

The Division will have a field day as soon as the Arms are in Order & the Men have two or three times practis'd the Manœuvres to be performed that day. Officer hopes to find them in the best Order & ammunition complete.

WILLIAM HETH, *Major.*

June 23d, 1777.

GENL. ORDERS.

Major Gen'l for to-morrow, Green. Brigadier General for to-morrow, Weedon. Field Officers, Col'o Lewis[68] & Major Nicholas.[69] Brigade Major, Peers.

The Commander-in-Chief approves the following Sentences of a Gen'l Court Martial held the 20th Inst. whereof Col'o Stephens was president & orders them to be put in Execution forthwith, vizt.

Thos. White, otherwise call'd Thos. Jones of Col'o Hartley's Batt'n Charg'd with desertion. The Prisoners pleaded guilty & was Sentenc'd to receive fifty lashes on his bare back. Alex'r Gray of the 5th P. Reg't Charg'd with Desertion found guilty & Sentenc'd to receive fifty lashes on his bare back. Levi Bloxam of the 9th Virg'a Reg't Charg'd with Insolence to & threatening to Shoot Ensign Robbins [John Robins] of the same Reg't found guilty & Sentenc'd to rec'e thirty Nine lashes on his Bare back. James McCurle of the 5th P. Reg't charg'd with insulting & charging his Bayonet on the Officer of the Ferry Guard at Trent Town, and presenting his piece at Lieut. Smith of 5th P. Reg't in the face of the whole Reg't, found guilty & Sentenc'd to receive 100 Lashes on his bare back.

William McCurl of the 5th P. Reg't charg'd with insulting & Charging his Bayonet on the Officers of the ferry guard at Trent Town, no Evidence appearing to Support the Charge ag't the Prisoner the Court ordered him to be discharg'd from confinement for the present.

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[68] Colonel William Lewis of the New Jersey militia, from Burlington county. The New Jersey State line rendered important service in the various sanguinary engagements in New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, their value being attested by the commander-in-chief.

[69] Major George Nicholas, commandant of Company No. 2, Second Virginia regiment.

The following letter rec'd from Col'o Spotswood:

MIDDLE BROOK. June 23d, 1777.

SIR:

Although the Court Martial acquitted Major Peers w'th Honor yet, I think Something remains to be done on my Side for the Injury done that Gentleman. You'll therefore oblige me by putting the Enclosed concession in the next Gen'l Orders.

Y'r Ob't Servant,

Alex'r Spotswood Col'o.

Col'o Spotswood being Convinc'd that he was wrong in putting Major Peers under arrest is Extremely sorry for it.

To Colonel Pickering.

AFTER ORDERS:

The Militia of the State of New Jersey assembled upon the late Alarm by Signal are dismissed with the Cordial thanks of the Commander-in-Chief for the readiness w'th w'ch they have turn'd out, & the Spirit & bravery they have shown in harrassing the Enemy, & preventing their incursion, such manly Exertions in the Militia prove highly discouraging to the Enemy and while the Same Spirit remains, as Danger is to be apprehended from future attempts.

AFTER ORDERS.

The rain having prevented the Execution of part of the after Orders of Yesterday—Every Brigade & Corps of the Army is to parade to-morrow morning at 4 O'C if it sh'd not rain —those after orders in other respects to be punctually comply'd with.

G. O.

In case of an Alarm the Army is to be drawn up in two Lines on the Northern Side of the Brooke, Gen'l Green's Division on the right, Gen'l Lincoln's on the left of the Front Line, Gen'l Stephen's Division on the right of the 2d Line, & Brigadier Gen'l Parson's Brigade on the left of the 2d Line—to be join'd by Gen'l Varnum when he comes up. The Troops to make best Shelter they can w'th boughs of Trees—Each Division to furnish 1 S. 2 S. 2 C. 25 P. for Picquet to Parade forthwith near the

Bridge. An Allarm will be made by the firing of two Field pieces at the park of Artillery, upon which the whole Army is to muster & take the ground Shewn to the Brig'r General with all possible dispatch. The Park of Artillery to form in the Center of the 1st Line.

CAMP Q. TOWN, 25th June.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

A Brigade Court Martial to sit immediately for trial of all the Prisoners in the Quarter Guard, all Evidences to attend.

A Capt. from the 7th Reg't President.

Members { 2 Sub's from 11th Reg't. / 1 Do from 7th Do. / 1 Do from 15th Do.

HEAD QUARTERS Q. TOWN, June 25th, 1777.

G. ORDERS.

Major General for to morrow—Stephen. Brigadier General for to-morrow—Woodford. Field Officers Lt. Colo. Sayers, Major Hays. Brigade Major, Swaine.

The Picquets to be relieved this day at 10 O'C A. M. Tomorrow at 6 O'C., the usual Hour. Whenever any firing or anything Else unusual in the Camp is permitted by the Major Gen'l of the Day, he is immediately to report it to the Commander-in-Chief—to prevent any unnecessary inquiries into the Cause of it. The Officers are always to take the most particular care that no damage be where the Troops are encamped. The inevitable distresses of War are so great and numerous that any addition to them must be deem'd to proceed from barbarity & wantoness alone—more especially on us, by whom that property was design'd, and ought to be protected.

D. ORDERS.

The Cartridges which are too Small or have too little Powder, or are damag'd to be return'd to the Commissary of Stores, and they will be exchang'd for what will Suit their different Arms.—by order of Gen'l Knox.[70]

[70] General Henry Knox.

CAMP QUIBBLE TOWN, 25th June.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

The Commanding Officer is sorry he is Oblig'd to report the Orders of the 30th May—viz't, "No Officer, Non Commision'd Officer, or Soldier to absent themselves from the Reg't without leave from the Commanding Officer of the Reg't, with the addition that whoever disobeys them hereafter may expect to be call'd to an Acc't. He is well persuaded every officer acquainted with him will not think this severe, or that wants any unnecessary or particular respect paid. He wou'd wish to know the time an Officer wanted leave, and where he might be sent for in case of Sudden call. It gives him pain that his Duty obliges him to point at two Subalterns whose disobedience in this Order, they upon reflection must acknowledge, Subject them to an Arrest, but from the high opinion he entertains of both these Gentlemen as promising Officers, He will take no further notice of it, and Sincerely wishes every officer will endeavor to make himself so well acquainted with his Duty as not to leave it in the power of their Superiors to call them to an Acc't which The Discipline & Subordination demand it, yet to an Officer of tenderness & Feeling it will ever give pain.

HEAD QUARTERS MID. BROOK,
26th June, 1777.

G. ORDERS.

The Troops are to complete 2 days Provision of Bread or Flour as Soon as possible & but one days Provision of Flesh (if Fresh) or 3 days if Salt, if it is to be had, and hold themselves in readiness to March at a moment's warning. They will lodge themselves in the best manner they can this Night near the Gaps of the Mountains. From every Gap proper Picquets are to be posted, & Patrols Sent out during the Night. The allow'd Quantity of Rum to be drawn for the Men immediately.

June 27th, 1777.

REGIMENTAL ORDERS.

The cadets Isaac Davis, James Dowdale & John Heth[71] are in future to do duty when it comes to their turn in the Companies they belong to. The Officers and Sg'ts are desir'd to make themselves acquainted with the Signals of the Drum given at yesterday. At Revelie Beating, Officers of the different companies are to form them, and Join Such Other Companies as they please So as to have Musick to each when they will practice Wheeling, forming & Marching, taking every pains in their power to instruct them in this necessary part of discipline. It is expected those Officers best acquainted with Manoueveres will be very active and that the others (who are by far the greatest Number) will never Miss any opportunity of improving; as nothing can be more disagreeable than for any Officer commanding the Reg't in manoeuvreing to be under the necessity of reproving by Name any Officer for his Extraordinary Ignorance.

W. H.

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK, 27th June, 1777.

G. ORDERS.

Major Gen'l to-morrow Lincoln. Brigadier Weedon. Field Officers—Colo. Chambers[72] & Major Rush. Brigade Major, Day.

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[71] John Heth, a younger brother of Colonel William Heth, born 1760; promoted lieutenant and ensign Second Virginia regiment in 1781, and received as bounty from the State of Virginia 3,036⅔ acres of land; member of the Virginia Society of the Society of Cincinnati; appointed March 5, 1792, captain Second United States infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel H. Gaither, and served in the campaign against the Northwestern Indians under General Anthony Wayne; died in Richmond, Virginia, November 15, 1810.

[72] Lieutenant-Colonel James Chambers, transferred from the Tenth to the First Pennsylvania regiment; retired the service January 1, 1781; at the battle of Brandywine he received a Hessian bullet in his side, which gave him much trouble in after years; died at London Forge, Franklin county, Pennsylvania, April 25, 1805, aged fifty-six years.

Commanding Officers of Corps who have Men in the Provost Guard ag't whom Sentences have been passed & approved are, without delay to see these Sentences executed. It being necessary to Determine the rank of Colo. Bland[73] & Colo. Moylan,[74] Colonels of Horse, Major General Sullivan, Green, L'd Stirling, Stephens & Lincoln were appointed a Court to inquire into the Matter, hear the pretensions of the parties and Determine their Ranks. The Court to sit this Afternoon at 6 o'C at Gen'l Green's Quarters, any three of them to be a quorum. The Commander-in-Chief earnestly desires that General Officers in Case of an Action or the appearance of one, will, when practicable, Send all their orders either in writing or by an Aid-de-Camp, or Brigade Major to prevent the unintelligible and Contradictory directions which are too often convey'd, and may prove fatal to the views & designs of the Commanding Officers. Intelligence of the Enemies movements & approach, they are also requested to communicate in the same manner to the Commander-in-Chief Officer, otherwise it will be impossible for them to make a proper disposition, as the goodness of this must depend upon the Certainty & precision of the information. All officers at out Posts are to govern themselves by this order So far as it will apply in their Case.

The General directs an immediate Return to be made to the Adj't General of the kill'd and wounded and Missing since Sunday last inclusive.

For the future the Commanding Officer of Corps are as soon as possible to make an exact return to the Adjutant General of all the Kill'd wounded & missing of their respective Corps. Specifying the Ranks and Time, when, & Places where such Events shall happen.

Such Commanding Officers of parties are from time to time to make the like exact Returns of all Prisoners they shall take from the Enemy and as soon as possible after the Capture.

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[73] Colonel Theodrick Bland, of Virginia.

[74] Colonel Stephen Moylan, brevetted brigadier-general, born in Ireland 1734; died at Philadelphia, April 11, 1811.

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK, 28th June, 1777.

G. ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow, Stephen, Brigadier, Woodford. Field Officers, Lt. Col. Wilson[75] & Major Richeson.[76] Brigade Major, Peers.

The Several Reg'ts are to Send for their Tents and pitch them where they are Posted. Orderely Serg'ts to attend at Head Quarters as usual. All Chaplains are to perform Divine Service to Morrow and every Succeeding Sunday with their respective Brigades and Regiments where their will possibly admit of it. And the Commanding Officers of Corps are to see that they attend themselves with Officers of all Ranks Setting the example. The Commander-in-Chief expects an exact Obedience in future as an invariable rule of practice and Every neglect being consider'd not only a breach of Orders but a disregard to Decency, Virtue and Religion.

CAMP MIDDLE BROOK, June 29th, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

In future each Reg't is to mount a Quarter Guard sufficient for its use, Convenience, independent of that which is daily furnish'd for the Brigade.

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK, June 29th.

G. ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow, Green. Brigadier, Mulenburg. Field Officers Col'o Spotswood L't Col. Febiger.

The Quarter-Master General is to make out a proper Distribution of Waggons among the Brigades & Corps of the Army & in proportion to their respective Members, to ascertain which they will apply to the Adjutant General.

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[75] John Neilson colonel New Jersey mounted men; colonel Second regiment, August 1, 1776; brigadier general State militia, February 21, 1777; also deputy quarter-master general.

[76] Holt Richeson of King William county, received 6000 acres from the State of Virginia, February 17, 1784, for three years service in the Continental establishment; member of the Virginia Convention of 1788.

HEAD QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK,
30th June, 1777.

G. ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow, Sullivan.[77] Brigadier, De Borres. Field Officers, Col. Matthews[78] and Lt. Col. Willis. Brigade Major, Mullens.

A Special Court Martial to sit to-morrow morning at 9 O'C. at the usual place near Gen'l Wayne's Quarters for the trial of Major Stewart of the 2nd Mary'd Reg't. Colo. David Hall is appointed President of this Court—all Witnesses to attend.

All Commanding Officers who have in their Reg'ts any Non-Commission'd Officers or Soldiers that were originally enlisted into the Reg't lately commanded by Col. Smallwood[79] to deliver them to Colo. Stone,[80] who now commands that same Reg't upon his making it appear they were so inlisted.

A Large Horseman's Tent mark'd I H Stone 1st Maryland Reg't together with some common Tents were taken from one Waggon on the late march from Quibble Town & put into another. Whoever has them is to send them to Colo. Stone without delay.

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[77] John Sullivan.

[78] George Mathews appointed lieutenant colonel of the Ninth Virginia regiment January 12, 1776; promoted colonel; born Augusta county Virginia in 1739; led a volunteer company against the Indians at the age of twenty-two; distinguished himself at the battle of Point Pleasants October 10, 1774; removed to Oglethorpe county Georgia in 1785; Governor of Georgia, 1780, 1793–'6; member of Congress, 1789–'91; afterwards brigadier-general of militia; died at Augusta, Georgia, August 30, 1812.

[79] William Smallwood, promoted major-general.

[80] John Haskins Stone, early in the war a captain in Smallwood's regiment; made colonel, December, 1776; resigned August 1, 1779; distinguished himself at the battles of Long Island, White Plains, Princeton and Germantown, in the last of which he received a wound which disabled him from further service. In 1781 he became a clerk in the office of R. R. Livingston, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and subsequently a member of the Executive Council of Maryland; Governor of Maryland 1794–'97; died at Annapolis, October 5, 1804.

30th June, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

When the weather clears up, the Arms of the whole Brigade to be put in the best order, the locks well oil'd, and any deficiency in ammunition to be immediately completed. When oil is wanted The Commanding Officer of Reg'ts are to see that Neets feet[81] are Boil'd up for that purpose without delay. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief Complains that the Gen'l Orders Given respecting the Troops being always provided with Three day's provisions on hand has Either through the Negligence of Officers or carelessness of Commissaries not being Strictly comply'd with. The Commanding Officers of each Corps will carefully attend for the future that no part of this breach of Publick Orders may be Justly charg'd to this Brigade. They will please to Represent to their Brigadier in Writing what kind of Provisions the Commissary is deficient in that he may be able immediately to report the Same that the blame may fall upon the proper person. Major Gen'l Stephen could not help expressing his Concern the last evening at Seeing so few Officers attending the Parade at Retreat Beating. It is not only expected that Every Capt. & Subaltern off Duty Should attend to See their Rolls call'd, their Arms and Ammunition examin'd, their Men Warn'd for Duty & all Absentees accounted for, but it is likewise hop'd the Field Officers will attend to See this very necessary piece of Duty purform'd. Their presence cannot fail of giving authority to the Inferior Officers & Setting that good Example that will produce the most happy effect. As this Brigade will probably be the next Detach'd the General hopes Every thing will be ready to move at the Shortest Notice.

30th June, 1777.

REG'L ORDERS.

The Commanding Officers of the Different Companies are required to peruse the General Division & Brigade Orders for many Days back to prevent their being repeated, and Officers from being reflected upon. The Colonel & Major's Orderly

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[81] Neat's-foot oil, obtained by boiling calves' feet.

Book are at the service of the Officers 'till Books can be procur'd for Each Comp'y. In the meantime the Major insists upon an immediate compliance w'th the Orders of the 9th, 20th & 21st Inst., as he would Consider it as Some reflection upon him Self if Major Gen'l Stephens should have sufficient reason for putting the last order referred to in execution. Indeed, he is much Surpriz'd that many Officers have not discover'd a greater inclination to improve themselves by reading the Gen'l Orders frequently & with attention as there are many of them replete with Military instructions, to say nothing of the Orders which Every Officer is in a greater or lesser degree indispensably bound to execute.

JULY 1ST, 1777.

BRIGADE ORDERS.

A Court Martial to sit this Morning for the Trial of all Prisoners in the Quarter Guard. The Rank of the Field Officers in the Virginia Line is to be settled to-morrow if any of the Gentlemen of this Brigade have other Claims to make than are already stated they will give them into the General. He thinks it will be necessary that the whole give in the Dates of their Commissions or appointments.

HEAD-QUARTERS MIDDLE BROOK,
1st July, '77.

G. ORDERS.

Major General for to-morrow, Stephens. Brigadier, Weedon. Field Officers, Col. McClenahan & Lt. Colo. Mais, Brigade Major, Peers.

A General Court Marshal to sit to-morrow morning at 9 o'C at the usual place for the Trial of Such Prisoners as Shall be brought before them. All Witnesses to attend. Colo. Walter Stewart is appointed President of this Court.

The late Court Martial of which Colo. Stephens was President is dissolv'd. Pay Abstracts for the Month of May are to be made out immediately & deliv'd to the Pay Master General for Examination.

The Several Troops & Detachments of Colo. Bland's Light Horse are to assemble forthwith at their Colo's Quarters. The Colo. will apply to the Quarter Master General to Assign a place where the regiment may get forrage to recruit their Horses.

A Return of the Sick in Camp of the Different Regiments to be made to the Surgeon General of the Army Every Tuesday & Friday at 3 o'C in the Morning Specifying the Men's Names, Disease & the Company they belong to. These Returns to be sign'd by the Regimental Surgeon. Jonathan Mifflin, Esq'r, & Henry Emanuel Lutterbock, Esq'r, are appointed Deputy Quarter Master Generals for the Army with the rank of Colonel and are to be respected & obey'd as such.

Clement Biddle, Esq'r, is app'd Commissary of Forrage for this Army. Notwithstanding the order of June 3rd the General is informed that many Officers are turning their Horses into Fields of Grain & Grasses & giving assurance to the Proprietors of them that the damage done shall be paid for by the Quarter Master General. When he recollects the orders already given and Considers the variety of Distress's under which the inhabitants of New Jersey are still groaning the General is astonish'd to find that neither Duty, Honor nor Humanity even restrain officers from so cruel and unlawful a practice. He therefore once more & in the most Pointed & Positive terms forbids it, and orders that no Horses be turn'd into any field whatsoever without license first obtain'd from the Quarter Master General or Some Person acting under his authority. After this Second notice any Officers offending, upon Complaint being made may rest assur'd that they shall not only be answerable for the Damage done but brought before a Court Martial for Disobedience of Orders.

July 1st, 1777.

REGL. ORDERS.

That the Commanding Officer of each Company make an exact return of what arms and accoutrements are wanting to complete his Men, more especially Tawmahawks, for which but too frequent Orders have been given. All Arms slightly damaged & thereby rendered unfit for use to be brought in * * *

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